

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

(GERALD L. K. SMITH)

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 5

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND
OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN
THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE
UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROP-
AGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES
OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE
OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY
OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN
RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY
NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

JANUARY 30, 1946, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities



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EXHIBITS

The following is a table of contents of various exhibits introduced in the records at the time of hearings of Gerald L. K. Smith. These exhibits can be seen in the files of the committee:

- Exhibit 1. The Platform of the America First Party.
- Exhibit 2. A Petition for Redress of Grievances.
- Exhibit 3. The Ghost of Hitler Stalks Detroit.
- Exhibit 4. The Cross and the Flag—issue of September 1945; carries article entitled "No. 1 Character Assassin Draws Dagger on Lutheran Church."
- Exhibit 5. Pamphlet entitled, "Los Angeles Against Gerald L. K. Smith."
- Exhibit 6. People's Institute of Applied Religion—Article referring to Mr. LeTourneau and others.
- Exhibit 7. Quotations from a book entitled, "A Faith To Free The People."
- Exhibit 8. "Hollywood Nite-Life"—issue of January 18, 1946, carrying an article entitled, "The Unholy Three—Smith, Tenney, Rankin."
- Exhibit 8A. Pattern for Revolution.
- Exhibit 9. The Cross and the Flag—issue of October 1945 carrying article by Upton Close entitled, "Shocked By Propaganda War Chest."
- Exhibit 10. Picture exhibit taken at meeting in Detroit, Mich.
- Exhibit 11. The Cross and the Flag—issue of January 1946, carrying article by Dr. Clinton J. Taft.
- Exhibit 12. The Cross and the Flag—issue of August 1945, carrying article by Rev. J. E. Perkins and Rev. W. A. Swift.
- Exhibit 13. Folder entitled, "Christian Veterans Awake!"
- Exhibit 14. Brochure entitled, "The Propaganda Battlefront"—issue of December 31, 1945.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1946

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. John W. Wood (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. What witnesses do you have for the committee this morning, Mr. Adamson?

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to call Gerald L. K. Smith.

Mr. PATTERSON of California. Mr. Chairman, before you proceed, could we make a statement so that we can go to another committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; any Member of Congress will be permitted to make a statement. Before we begin the Chair will state that Members of the House have been notified, many of them, particularly some who have been insisting upon the investigation into the activities of the witness named, that they will be given an opportunity to appear here this morning for the purpose of interrogating the witness, so far as they see fit, and that privilege will be given to the gentleman.

Mr. PATTERSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RANKIN. Of course, anyone who makes a statement before the committee is subject to cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I don't think that Members of Congress should be subject to cross-examination before this committee.

Mr. RANKIN. Certainly he is if he makes a statement that goes into this record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it contemplated, Mr. Patterson, that you are going to make a statement, a copy of which I have here, which has been mimeographed?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this is not a statement as the Chair interprets it. It is a series of interrogations to the committee. I will state now that so far as the chairman of the committee is concerned, you or any other Member of Congress will be given the unrestricted right to interrogate this or any other witness that this committee has before it, and I think that is as far as the committee can go.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question. What do you mean by "interrogation"?

The CHAIRMAN. Any witness—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). No; this statement that you are referring to—interrogations of us or of the witness?

The CHAIRMAN. Interrogations of the committee.

Mr. RANKIN. Of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Of the committee. This is a series of questions directed to this committee.

Mr. RANKIN. This is nothing but a propaganda statement, an attack on the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. PATTERSON. I challenge that statement. I protest that statement, Mr. Chairman. Why don't you let me proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has made the ruling about the gentlemen. Bring the witnesses, Counselor.

Mr. PATTERSON. Are you going to permit me to make a statement?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has the statement.

Mr. PATTERSON. I presume the committee ought to be gracious enough to hear us.

Mr. THOMAS. This is not a statement. This is a series of questions, and you know it just as well as I do.

Mr. PATTERSON. We have been invited to appear before this committee.

Mr. RANKIN. I make the point of order, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman is not in order, and I demand that we proceed in order.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say this, gentlemen: On my own motion I will put the statement in the record.

Mr. PATTERSON. I will give you the original.

(The statement referred to follows:)

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: Your honorable chairman has invited a number of us to take part in the examination of Gerald L. K. Smith, America's most raucous purveyor of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious bigotry.

If your committee is unable or unwilling to conduct this vital investigation through to a complete unmasking of Smith's disruptive activities and their chief financial supporters here or abroad, we will be glad to take over the committee's work. We must be assured, however, on several important guaranties to make such an investigation effective.

1. Why has your committee adopted the most unusual procedure of inviting other members to help conduct the committee's investigation?

2. Should we accept the committee's invitation to take part in the examination, would we be permitted to ask questions unrestrictedly and to follow their course to its most logical end?

3. Would the committee compel the witness, by contempt citations if necessary, to answer questions and to produce books and papers and call other witnesses who could ruthlessly expose all those in high or low places who support Smith's bigoted, subversive activities?

4. What previous investigations has the committee already carried on to determine the connection of Gerald L. K. Smith with other Fascist propagandists operating in America?

5. Would we have unrestricted right of access to the committee's records in order to push our part in the further investigation of Smith and associates?

6. Would the committee's staff be placed as freely at our disposal during the conduct of this investigation as it is at the disposal of the committee itself?

7. Would our examination of Smith be open to the press and to the public?

8. Would we be given the necessary time to prepare our case?

9. Would we be permitted to inquire fully into the reasons for editorials in Smith's publication, the Cross and the Flag, praising the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Rankin, and Martin Dies?

Awaiting your reply with interest, we are,

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

EMANUEL CELLER.

HUGH DE LACY.

VITO MARCANTONIO.

ELLIS E. PATTERSON.

CHARLES R. SAVAGE.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement is in the record.

Mr. ADAMSON (referring to the preceding statement). Are these original signatures, Mr. Patterson?

Mr. PATTERSON. Those are the original signatures.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to say now that this statement is an attack on the committee, and it sounds like the usual Communist propaganda, or the propaganda that their fellow travelers use to attack the Committee on Un-American Activities. Let that go into the record if you want to, but I want the committee to know what this is. I have looked it over.

Mr. THOMAS. They will give it to the press anyway. We might as well put it in the record.

Mr. RANKIN. We are used to propaganda. This is propaganda of fellow travelers.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us have the names of those who appear.

The CHAIRMAN. They are here on the statement.

Mr. RANKIN. No; they are not all present. There are some here who are not on that list.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand; but those who signed the questionnaire are here, and Mr. Celler, of New York, is with them.

Mr. THOMAS. Is Mr. Marcantonio down there?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes, but Mr. Celler has not signed the petition.

Mr. Chairman, let me make this statement: This committee is charged with the grave responsibility of investigating un-American activities. It is our duty to protect America and American institutions. So far as I am concerned, I have taken about all the abuse that these fellow travelers of the Communist Party could pour onto me. I will not be intimidated by them or anybody else, and I feel that I reflect the sentiments of this committee and the sentiments of the patriotic Americans everywhere. If this man Smith is guilty of un-American activities, we want to know it, and we have summoned him here for that purpose, and these attacks on the Committee on Un-American Activities are inspired by a subversive element in this country and carried out by their fellow travelers, and they are not going to intimidate this committee.

Mr. MURDOCK. Will the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. MURDOCK. Is the witness, Mr. Smith, summoned, or is he invited or subpoenaed to appear?

Mr. ADAMSON. I can answer that question. I wrote Mr. Smith the usual letter and told him that if he would not agree to appear I would subpoena him. He wrote back, and we had some discussion about a convenient date, a date that was convenient both to the committee and to Mr. Smith, and then he decided he would come without subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the statement has been made by Mr. Rankin. Let me state that so far as I know, no members of this committee feel intimidated by anybody.

Mr. RANKIN. No; they are just attempting to intimidate us.

Let me say another thing, that the demand was made on the floor of the House for us to investigate Gerald L. K. Smith, and many letters were written to this committee. Those demands were made by Representative Celler, of New York, Representative Patterson, of

California, Representative De Lacy, of Washington, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, of California, Representative Savage, of Washington, Representative Marcantonio, of New York, and a few others. Now we have complied with their requests. We are going to go through with the investigation, but as I said, we are not going to be intimidated by any communistic attacks.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us go ahead.

Mr. ADAMSON: Will you hold up your right hand, Mr. Smith?

TESTIMONY OF GERALD L. K. SMITH, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name and residence, please?

Mr. SMITH. Gerald L. K. Smith, Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Your local residence address and business, please.

Mr. SMITH. You mean where I am staying in Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. SMITH. I live at 1700 Seaburn Avenue, Detroit. The office of our activities is 420 Farwell Building, Detroit, and I am the director of the America First Party, you might say the directing organizer, and the editor of a magazine known as The Cross and the Flag.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, would you be willing, without further demand or process on the part of this committee, to permit the members of the committee's investigating staff to go into your books, papers, and records at their convenience, at your place of business?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. Not only would we be willing, but we would be willing to give the committee the fullest cooperation.

Mr. ADAMSON. And you waive any further procedure in the nature of subpoena or any other process?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. I would be only too happy to instruct every member of my staff, and every person associated with me, to give this committee the fullest cooperation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Smith, do I understand that that includes permission for our investigators to have a list, to have access to a list of your subscribers to your magazine?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To any person who may have been contributing to your movement?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And to the books and records that you have, which indicate the disposition of any funds that you have raised?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the end to which they are put?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the purposes for which they are spent?

Mr. SMITH. Gladly, without reserve.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Smith, you spoke of the America Party—what do you call it?

Mr. SMITH. The America First Party.

Mr. THOMAS. America First Committee or America First Party?

Mr. SMITH. America First Party.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that a political party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; it is.

Mr. RANKIN. What State is it organized in?

Mr. SMITH. In the Presidential election last year we were, of course, just a young party, and were on the ballot in a formal way in two States, but we conducted write-in campaigns in something like 21 States.

Mr. RANKIN. Have you got a copy of the platform of that party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I have never seen it.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, is the counsel going to ask questions and bring out certain points, or are we all going to interrupt and get the information we want?

The CHAIRMAN. I think probably we could proceed more in order if we would permit counsel to finish his interrogation and let the members of the committee each in turn ask whatever they desire to ask.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to get this in there. I have never seen this platform, and I would like to have a copy of it inserted in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. ADAMSON. May I have this platform marked as "Exhibit No. 1"?

Mr. RANKIN. Let it go in the record at this point.

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes, and you may inspect it and give it to the reporter.

(The platform of the America First Party was marked "Exhibit 1, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let counsel proceed.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, have you got any additional copies of that platform?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. I don't know whether we have any extra copies here. We have some in the city. I could have them brought here.

Mr. ADAMSON. That will not do us any good now. I thought we might give each member of the committee a copy to be reading.

Mr. SMITH. In my formal statement which I have prepared I conclude with the 10 high points for which we contend in 1946. I have a statement which I will be glad to give to each member of the committee here.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, I would prefer to ask you some questions, and then if you wish to request permission of the committee to make a statement, that is up to you, but I would like to ask him a few questions, Mr. Chairman, before we go into any formal statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has ruled counsel may proceed with the examination.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, when was the America First Party organized?

Mr. SMITH. It became an official party in the fall—on the 1st day of September 1944.

Mr. ADAMSON. And under the laws of what State was it originally organized?

Mr. SMITH. Under the laws of the State of Michigan.

Mr. ADAMSON. And is the office address which you have given here the headquarters of the party?

Mr. SMITH. It is.

Mr. ADAMSON. Can you tell us briefly who the organizers were?

Mr. SMITH. The call was sent out by Gerald K. Smith, Don Lobeck, and Carl H. Mote.

Mr. ADAMSON. Can you tell us who those gentlemen are?

Mr. SMITH. Carl H. Mote is an Indiana businessman. He was the chairman of the first convention. Don H. Lohbeck is a young man who has devoted himself very actively to our organization activities.

Mr. ADAMSON. And what is the present status of your party in the State of Michigan with regard to membership?

Mr. SMITH. We operate under the laws of the State of Michigan and subscribe to the same obligations as are laid down for the major parties, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

Mr. ADAMSON. Have you any idea at the present time of the size of your membership in Michigan?

Mr. SMITH. Of course, that is a little like saying what would be the next Democratic vote in Michigan next year, or the Republican vote.

Mr. ADAMSON. I asked if you know?

Mr. SMITH. No; I don't have a definite figure, because we don't have the membership ideal, such as soliciting people to join and pay dues. We don't have a dues-paying membership.

Mr. ADAMSON. On that point, what is your method of obtaining financial support for the party?

Mr. SMITH. We solicit by mail from our office financial support from those who are known to be sympathetic with what we are doing, and those contributions have been sent in through the mail to our headquarters in Michigan or in Detroit.

Mr. ADAMSON. Not Washington?

Mr. SMITH. No, Detroit.

Mr. ADAMSON. Is this magazine, The Cross and the Flag, published by the party or is it an independent publication?

Mr. SMITH. No; The Cross and the Flag is published by a non-profit corporation known as the Federation of Americanization of Michigan, and that is its exclusive responsibility, to publish that magazine.

Mr. ADAMSON. Do you know the approximate circulation of the magazine, The Cross and the Flag, at the present time?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I do. It runs something around 20,000.

Mr. ADAMSON. And does it go all over the country, or is it confined to any particular section?

Mr. SMITH. It goes to every State in the Union.

Mr. ADAMSON. Are those subscriptions paid subscriptions?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, not only are they paid but our files were recently inspected by the inspector of mails, and we were given a very satisfactory report as to how we handled the subscriptions, the money, and fulfill our obligations to the subscribers.

Mr. ADAMSON. On that point, is your publication entered at the post office in Detroit under the rules and regulations of the Post Office Department which apply to the reduced rates on magazines and other publications?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; we have fulfilled the most meticulous rules of the Postal Department in that regard.

Mr. ADAMSON. Now, tell us about yourself. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. Where were you born?

Mr. SMITH. I was born in Wisconsin in 1898.

Mr. ADAMSON. Where in Wisconsin?

Mr. SMITH. In a little town called Pardeeville.

Mr. ADAMSON. And where did you go to school?

Mr. SMITH. I graduated from the high school at Virequa, Wis., then Valpariso University, then I did postgraduate work at the University of Butler, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.

Mr. ADAMSON. Then what did you do?

Mr. SMITH. I was ordained for ministry in what is known as the Christian Church when I was 18 years of age. I am the fourth generation of preachers in that church. My father retired from the ministry on his golden wedding anniversary and still lives, after serving the church 50 years also.

Mr. ADAMSON. You say you were ordained. Will you tell us about your service in the church?

Mr. SMITH. I served in the church as the pastor of the University Church, which was the church that served the students of Butler University, and in 1928 Mrs. Smith suffered a serious illness which required that we leave Indianapolis, although I had been called permanently for that work. We went to Shreveport, La., where I became the pastor of the largest church of our denomination in the State of Louisiana, known as the Kings Highway Christian Church in Shreveport.

Mr. ADAMSON. How long were you there?

Mr. SMITH. Nearly 4 years.

Mr. ADAMSON. That would bring us to 1932?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. ADAMSON. And what did you do after 1932?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I looked about the State of Louisiana and I found only one public figure—at least among those that were effective in their leadership—who seems to have any interest in human action, and that man was Huey P. Long. I contended that he was right. For that contention I was subjected to intense criticism. I was compelled to take a stand, so I decided to take a stand with Mr. Long. The matter was so controversial that I felt it was wrong to carry that controversy through the delicate operations of a local pastor of a church, because I never believed that the pastor of a church should discuss politics in the pulpit; that he must either get out and fight as a politician or he must minister to the spiritual needs of his congregation, so I resigned.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I don't think we should use this committee as a sounding board for the views of individuals.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, stick as nearly as possible to the questions that are asked.

Mr. SMITH. So I resigned, and from that time on until the assassination of Huey Long I was his close and bosom companion. I was with him when he was killed and spoke the last words over his grave, and I was the last living thing on this earth that he touched.

Mr. ADAMSON. Now, tell us about your activities since the death of Senator Long.

Mr. SMITH. My interest in the people and in liberal and progressive legislation induced me to oppose a technique being employed in this country, namely, the technique of exploiting of sincere liberalism by the

Communists. I looked about and saw coming to me people that I did not like. They did not look like good Americans to me—did not look like good Americans—but they said they were liberals. I was a liberal; but they were not the kind of liberal that I was, so I found myself caught between two extremes, the Reds, who wanted to exploit my liberalism, and the reactionaries, who wanted to exploit me and take me into the Communist Party. So I began to campaign all across the South and the Nation on the theory that we did not need to follow Wall Street or Moscow; that there was an American way to be liberal and to be patriotic, and I have conscientiously tried to follow that way. The reactionaries then and there branded me——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Just confine your answers to the questions, Mr. Smith, as near as you possibly can, without going into the motive behind your actions.

Mr. SMITH. The point I am trying to make, Mr. Chairman—if I may just make this one point—I am here, in my opinion—I am not appropriating your opinion—I am here under the pressure of people who have smeared me, and I am trying to account for that smear.

Mr. THOMAS. We have been smeared, too, and we don't account for our smearing. I think counsel should ask a fair question, and the witness should make a short answer.

Mr. SMITH. I will be only too happy to do so.

Mr. THOMAS. And not use this committee as a sounding board.

Mr. RANKIN. Every red-blooded American realizes that there are two extremes in this country, in the world, that are antagonistic to the American way of life and the American way of government, and those are facism, which is nazism, on the one hand; and communism, on the other. Now, this man has been charged by these Members of Congress, who ran out on us awhile ago, with being un-American. I would like for him to go into this question and discuss his attitude sufficiently to let us know what it is. If he is a Fascist or a Nazi, he is un-American. If is a Communist, he is un-American. Now, he was trying when he was interrupted to explain his attitude on those vital issues.

The CHAIRMAN. As the Chair understands it, gentlemen, this committee is not concerned about any man's personal attitude.

A man has got a right to embrace his own views. We are undertaking to ascertain here whether or not the activities of any person in America are un-American, and to that extent I think the question asked him was pertinent. I think the answer he was seeking to give goes into exploitation of the personal views of this man with reference to political matters about which I am personally not concerned.

Mr. RANKIN. As a judge and as a very able lawyer, I am sure the chairman [Mr. Wood] will agree that a man's motives for his acts are governed by his views, if they are known, or whether they are known or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us get into his acts.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, you said you campaigned across the country after 1932. Do you mean that you conducted a political campaign or you merely went around lecturing and speaking?

Mr. SMITH. I was associated with Huey Long.

Mr. ADAMSON. I mean after his death.

Mr. SMITH. After his death—you want me to begin year by year?

Mr. ADAMSON. No; I just want you to answer the question. I want to know the methods that you used in campaigning. You said you were campaigning.

Mr. SMITH. I used the radio, I used pamphlets, circulars, public meetings.

Mr. ADAMSON. Did you receive compensation for your speeches, lectures, and radio talks?

Mr. SMITH. Well, during those years of—well, beginning in 1938 the funds for my activities were handled from Michigan through the Federation of Americanization.

Mr. ADAMSON. And what sort of an organization was that?

Mr. SMITH. It was a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, educational organization for the purpose of fighting communism, nazism, and fascism.

Mr. ADAMSON. When you went around and lectured, did they make an admission charge to hear your lectures?

Mr. SMITH. No; I have a rule that I will never address a meeting where people are charged to enter.

Mr. ADAMSON. And when you refer to this educational society in 1938, do you know whether that organization was listed in the Internal Revenue Bureau as one of those educational societies to whom the donors may make contributions and deduct them from their income tax?

Mr. SMITH. No; we did not qualify for that purpose, because we did not feel that it was the practical thing to do for the donor; in fact, any donor was advised that he should not do that.

Mr. ADAMSON. Well, the principal organization—that is, the platform of the America First Party—is that party registered with the Bureau of Internal Revenue for the same purpose?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the America First Party operates under the laws of the Nation, just as the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, and we make regular reports four and five times a year to the Clerk of the lower House.

Mr. ADAMSON. You do not claim that this America First—

Mr. RANKIN (interposing). You make reports to whom?

Mr. SMITH. To the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean your party makes reports to the Clerk of the House?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; in detail.

Mr. ADAMSON. And your party does not claim, then, to be a relief, benevolent, or educational society?

Mr. SMITH. No; we operate as a political party, seeking to influence people as to how they vote.

Mr. ADAMSON. Can you tell us the names of any other organizations with which you are affiliated at the present time?

Mr. SMITH. You mean political or educational or otherwise?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I cooperate with something like 68 organizations in the United States that are patriotic, anti-Communist, and nationalistic.

Mr. ADAMSON. And when you say “cooperate,” do you mean merely sympathetic with them, or does the America First Party—

Mr. SMITH (interposing). In some instances we give them just moral support; in other instances I advise my friends to support them. In other instances we give them modest financial help.

Mr. ADAMSON. Do you mean that the financial help comes from the treasury of the America First Party or from yourself personally?

Mr. SMITH. From the America First Party.

Mr. ADAMSON. You make contributions to other organizations?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if at that point we could insert the names of a few of those that make contributions?

Mr. SMITH. I would hesitate to draw on my memory, Mr. Chairman, but may I say that the matter is of record with the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Mr. ADAMSON. We can ascertain that very easily.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; very easily.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute there—Mr. Smith has got a very good memory; and if there are 68 of them, he can certainly remember a large number of them.

Mr. SMITH. Well, the number that we give financial aid to—and even that is not large—is very small.

Mr. THOMAS. What ones are those? This is financial aid now.

Mr. SMITH. I would only be too happy to do my best, Mr. Congressman, if I am not to be held to be in violation of my oath if I make a mistake.

Mr. ADAMSON. What is your best recollection? Give us a couple of the principal ones.

Mr. SMITH. The Christian Veterans organization, the Christian Youth for America—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). May I interpolate just one question? Has there been any financial assistance given to any organization other than those that are listed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir. Under oath I say that.

Mr. RANKIN. I was going to say, Mr. Chairman, we might get that list from the Clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we can get that.

Mr. ADAMSON. I will see that that is put into the record at this point. I ask, Mr. Chairman, for permission to insert the list from the files of the Clerk of the House in the record at this point, in connection with the testimony of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; that will be done.

Mr. ADAMSON. Now, Mr. Smith, what about the funds of this magazine, The Cross and the Flag? Are they used for any purpose other than publication of the magazine?

Mr. SMITH. You mean if you send in \$2 to subscribe to the magazine, is any portion of that money used for any other purpose except for the magazine?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. The answer is "No."

Mr. ADAMSON. Then you testify that all of the funds coming to the magazine are used in the interest of the magazine?

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. You make no contribution to any other organizations from those funds?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. Do you conduct any political movements or activities in your own name personally, entirely separate and apart from the America First Party and the magazine the Cross and the Flag?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. And whatever your activities may be, they may be found in the records of those two organizations?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. By the way, Mr. Smith, are you a married man?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. And is your wife an American citizen?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. That is all.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the attorney has referred to my family, I would like to put into the record, in honor of my son, that he just returned from Burma with five wounds, which he incurred in a suicide engagement, and received the Presidential citation, the Purple Heart, and numerous other citations. He fought behind the Japanese lines for 84 days without taking off his clothes. Out of 800 men, he was one of 150 who survived.

Mr. RANKIN. Give the name.

Mr. SMITH. Gerald Smith, Jr., private first class.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Smith, did you say that some of the organizations you are affiliated with are Communist or Fascist, or Nazi organizations?

Mr. SMITH. On the contrary, Mr. Rankin, under the auspices of the Federation of Americanization in 1940 we submitted to the Congress of the United States, through the instrumentality of Mr. Dies, a petition bearing 428,000 names, asking Congress to outlaw communism, nazism, and fascism.

Mr. THOMAS. Will the gentleman yield right there? What do you mean by "through the instrumentality of Mr. Dies"?

Mr. SMITH. We gave him the petition.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he ask for the petition? I remember you telephoned me one day from Detroit, and I refused to take the petition from you. Now, did you telephone Mr. Dies also? And you got pretty mad because I said you had better get in touch with one of your own Congressmen from Michigan.

Mr. SMITH. I didn't call you relative to any petition, Mr. Congressman. I called you relative to Sidney Hillman and asked you if you would like to have information concerning Communist activities in Detroit, and you said I——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). You called me about a petition with millions of names on it, or something like that.

Mr. SMITH. That petition was already filed.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know what you meant by "instrumentality of Mr. Dies."

Mr. SMITH. Well, perhaps I should say that Congressman Hoffman asked Mr. Dies if he would like to have me present the petition to Congress, and the petition, notarized, was presented by Mr. Hoffman,

and he had contacted Mr. Dies, and the same petition was confirmed in the upper House by United States Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who paid a tribute to my record, referred to the petition, and read the notarization into the records of the United States Senate.

Mr. THOMAS. I just wanted to get it straight how Mr. Dies got it.

Mr. RANKIN. It went to the Dies committee. That is what you are trying to say?

Mr. SMITH. I presume the word "instrumentality," if we want to be technical—I presume that is the wrong word. I presume I should have said in behalf of the Dies committee, through the instrumentality of Congressman Hoffman, of Michigan.

Mr. THOMAS. And it was not in behalf of the Dies committee. I was on the Dies committee at that time, and we never discussed this matter anytime, at any meeting.

Mr. SMITH. Well, the petition petitioned the Congress to continue the Dies committee. We considered that was in behalf of the Dies committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, I see.

Mr. SMITH. We assumed that you appreciated the support of half a million citizens, but evidently you did not.

Mr. THOMAS. I do very much appreciate the support of half a million citizens, and we got the support of many more millions than half a million, too, and this committee has got the support of millions and millions of Americans.

Mr. SMITH. I remind you, Mr. Congressman, the year that that petition was prepared your committee was very much smeared, and we were the only ones that had the courage to go out and gather that kind of a petition, and it is a matter of record. And may I say to you, if you are trying to protect Mr. Dies—I seek no reflection on your position in the matter—that I conferred with Mr. Dies not more than 3 weeks ago, and he renewed his appreciation for my activities in that respect?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Dies doesn't need any protection from you, Mr. Smith, or anyone else.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Smith, you spoke awhile ago of having a statement you would like to make. I would rather hear your statement before I cross-examine you.

Mr. ADAMSON. Very well, Mr. Chairman. He has the statement here. Do you want him to read it or just insert it?

Mr. RANKIN. I would like for him to read it. I would like to hear it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, it seems to be a rather lengthy statement, and the House will convene in about 50 minutes from now. I think the members of the committee would like to ask Mr. Smith some questions.

Mr. RANKIN. You want to insert that in the record?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Smith wants to read the statement, I will be glad to have it put into the record.

Mr. SMITH. May I respond to that for just a moment?

Mr. ADAMSON. Let me first ask you if this is a statement prepared by you? Did you prepare this?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; but it is a petition for redress of grievances which I desire to present under the Constitution to Members of Congress.

Mr. ADAMSON. Well, whatever it is, did you prepare it?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. And do you attest to the truthfulness of the statements contained therein?

Mr. SMITH. I will sign one copy with my own original signature.

Mr. ADAMSON. Suppose you sign it here.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him sign each page.

Mr. ADAMSON. Sign each page so there will be no question about it. (The witness signed the statement.)

I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this statement, properly attested by the witness, be inserted in the record at this point in connection with his testimony.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask another question? Mr. Sabath also has been demanding that we investigate Mr. Smith. Will Mr. Sabath be here this morning, Congressman Sabath?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he will.

Mr. ADAMSON. This will be exhibit No. 2.

(The petition for redress of grievances was marked "Exhibit 2, Gerald L. K. Smith," and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT 2—SMITH

A PETITION FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES AND FOR AN INVESTIGATION INTO PROMOTED TERRORISM, DENIAL OF CIVIL LIBERTY, CONSPIRACY AGAINST FREEDOM, ORGANIZED CHARACTER ASSASSINATION, CORRUPT PRACTICE, ORGANIZED RIOTING, ETC.

JANUARY 30, 1946.

Congressman John S. Wood, Chairman, and to the Members of the Congressional Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities.

GENTLEMEN: I come before this committee to invite your attention to certain evil practices being committed within the borders of the United States of America at the instigation of and with the cooperation of Communists, racketeers, and opportunists.

I shall discuss only such matters as pertain to my own personal experiences and those of my intimate associates.

HYPOTHESIS

It is my firm conviction after years of fighting communism that there has developed in the United States a technique for curbing and destroying anyone who becomes an effective foe of communism, especially that branch of Marxism known as Stalinism. Any individual who projects himself into the fight and exposes without fear or reserve the enemies of America, operating in the pay of or under the direction of the Communist Party, is sure to experience the following:

1. He will be branded as a Fascist.
2. He will be accused of being antilabor.
3. He will be advertised as a bigot.
4. He will be so smeared that the ordinary conventional institutions and organizations will withdraw from him.
5. He will be listed as an anti-Semite.
6. He will be subjected to ridicule.
7. Those who support him morally, physically, and financially will be made the victims of the same line of persecution.

During the war it was the practice to brand those who had been effective in their fight against communism as breeders of disunity, Fascists, agents of Hitler, fifth columnists, and appeasers.

For 10 years I have been fighting communism, fascism, and nazism. In 1940 I filed a petition bearing about one-half million names with Congressman Martin Dies. The purpose of this petition was to give moral support to the activities

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of his committee and to call for the outlawry of communism, nazism, and fascism. Slowly I began to discover that I was being typed by the left-wing element to be publicized and advertised as a Fascist and an anti-Semite.

The organizations which have been the most active in doing this job are the following:

1. The so-called Friends of Democracy, which has never campaigned against communism, headed by Rex Stout, L. M. Birkhead, and others. Financed mainly by frightened Jews who are kept scientifically frightened by the organizations which exploit them for money-raising purposes.

2. The so-called Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, which is definitely pro-Communist, which never fights communism, and which conducts a highly financed Gestapo-like organization.

3. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, which has an elaborate and expensive system for indexing, filing, and following up on the names of individuals who have been alleged to have criticized Jews.

It has been my observation that these three organizations have been the leaders in either accepting the Communist Party line of attack on me, or of supplying new lines of their own. Files easily accessible to this committee will reveal that stories released by New Masses, the newspaper PM, and the Daily Worker frequently appear in bulletins issued by the Anti-Defamation League, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the Friends of Democracy.

In the past 5 years I have witnessed and experienced a ruthless attack on our American way of life and on the civil rights of American citizens. In practically every instance the suffering and persecution which our people have endured could be traced to instigators connected with the Communist Party, the Friends of Democracy, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

CASES

1. On March 14, 1945, I was scheduled to speak in the American Federation of Labor Temple in Chicago, located on Marshfield Avenue. It is one of the finest labor temples in America. Prior to the meeting, the officials of the labor union received something like 500 threatening telegrams. Their telephone service was paralyzed and their office help was intimidated. The afternoon before the night of the meeting two men invaded the hall with guns, manhandled the custodian, and exploded stench bombs. The place was guarded with sawed-off shotguns. At night the hall was filled with good, Christian, American people, while outside a mob picket line, close to 1,000, was guarded by something like 300 policemen. The pickets were mostly young Jews, connected with the organizations named above, or the Communist Party, or both.

This experience is merely one of numerous similar experiences we have had.

2. In practically every city where we hold meetings the same type of terroristic organization literally terrorizes building managements. Recently I spoke in Denver, Colo. The committee had arranged for me to speak in the Woman's Club of that city. I was to be introduced by the pastor of a local church. For two days prior to the meeting a reign of terror was organized against the Woman's Club. Members were afraid to come into the building. Two Negro Communists called on the president of the club and told her that, if I were permitted to speak, they would turn over her car and chop up the furniture. The use of the hall was tentatively canceled, but finally we were able to continue with the meeting by insuring the building for \$25,000, which cost us \$100 cash, 3 hours before the meeting. Such pressure had been brought on the insurance company that they called the management and told them that their policy would be no good if I was permitted to speak. The meeting went on and was picketed by the Communist Party in the midst of strong police protection.

3. When it was announced that I was to speak in a high-school auditorium in the city of San Francisco Harry Bridges, who barely escaped deportation because of his Communist activities, announced that, if I spoke, he would call a general strike and throw a picket line around the building so tight that a flea couldn't get through. I spoke, and the high school was filled with fine Christian people, but it required 710 police to patrol the building. Prior to the meeting it was necessary for us to get two supreme court decisions from the Supreme Court of the State of California in order to fulfill our engagement.

Appearing before the school board to protest my right to speak were the very organizations referred to in this statement, who were either represented at the hearing directly or indirectly. Aside from the B'nai B'rith, which expressed the same opposition as expressed by the Anti-Nazi League and the Friends of

Democracy, the only people who opposed me by appearing before the San Francisco School Board were known Communist organizations.

4. We have had similar situations in Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, etc. Usually after the community gets a look at the people who fight me they realize that many of them have been deceived by smear propaganda, but the ordeal of breaking through the interference set up by these organizations of character assassination, intimidation, and terror is one that only seasoned veterans can survive.

5. In Los Angeles, as well as other cities in California, an organization which calls itself Mobilization for Democracy, headed incidentally by the attorney general of the State of California, raised a sum of money around \$100,000 to keep me out of California or to run me out of California. In a recent hearing before the committee commonly known as the Tenney committee, it was established by Senator Tenney and his staff of investigators that the Mobilization for Democracy was instigated, inspired, and controlled by the Communist Party. This group is alleged to represent 200 left-wing organizations and 200 Jewish organizations. The same people who fought my appearance have participated as leaders in the recent riotous demonstrations in Los Angeles.

In a recent appearance in Los Angeles, where I spoke in the Polytechnic High School, by the unanimous consent of the school board, a group of Hollywood stars, in cooperation with the Mobilization for Democracy, organized a mob picket line of 20,000 people. Among those who financed and gave moral support to the organization of the mob were Eddie Cantor, Orson Welles, Edward G. Robinson, Frank Sinatra, and others.

The same group had organized a picket line at an earlier meeting which was not as well policed as the later one. The pastor of the most influential Methodist church in the city was knocked down twice and kicked in the stomach while attempting to force his way into the meeting. He made it, came to the platform and shook hands with me, and told his experience. He later recounted his experience, which was printed on page 1 of the metropolitan press. Public sentiment was so aroused that at our next meeting, which was picketed by the same mob, over 800 police patrolled the meeting.

I point out, gentlemen, that at no time has the Catholic Church or the fundamentalist branch of the Protestant Church offered any opposition to my meetings.

In one of my recent meetings in Detroit it was announced that I would be picketed and the picket line would be led by a preacher. The preacher's name is Rev. Claude Williams, although it is a sacrilege in my opinion to use the term "Rev." in connection with the name of this Red propagandist. I desire to file with this committee a copy of the book by Cedric Belfrage, which is intended to be a tribute to Claude Williams, the title of which is "A Faith To Free the People." I cite a few sample quotations from this book to give you a little idea of its tenor, as follows:

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"He (Claude Williams) married the pair and set the date on the certificate back so that they could have their baby without fear. He told them that when the commandment about adultery was given, it was impossible for a man and woman to have relations without involving society, because it was before the time of scientific birth control. But now that it was possible to avoid involving society, the act was neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral."

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"And I do not even know, nor can any of us know, whether He (Jesus) ever actually existed. I do not care whether He is fact or myth."

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"Claude was grateful for the Communists' unsolicited support."

Page 141

"After reading Lenin's 'State and Revolution and Imperialism' he (Claude Williams) found his views taking even firmer and clearer shape. He was inspired by Lenin * * * like the faith of Jesus."

I file with your committee a brochure on Williams, together with the book. Williams led the picket line on the night of my Detroit meeting and a group of hoodlums attempted to rush the police, who held them back by force. When W. Z. Foster visited Detroit recently to support the mayoralty candidacy of Richard Frankenstein, who was defeated, one of the most conspicuous handshakers at the Foster meeting was the so-called Rev. Claude Williams. Williams is a striking and typical example of my opposition. He is the head of an or-

ganization known as the Institute of Applied Religion, with headquarters in Detroit. The Dies committee reports are replete with detailed reports on his activities.

I respectfully petition this committee to subpoena such witnesses as are necessary to expose these organized campaigns of terror, coercion, intimidation, in order that the truth concerning their activities may be established. It is my conviction that the Communist Party will be found in the middle of all these terroristic practices. I am convinced beyond the peradventure of a doubt that terror groups are being systematically organized for the purpose of preventing and breaking up meetings which do an effective job on communism. Surely the smear stories that have appeared in left-wing journals, and in journals not supposed to be left wing, and over the radio concerning the members and the motives of this committee establish the truth of my hypothesis.

Feeding on the misinformation and character assassination material which the organizations named in this statement supply is the Nation's most notorious character assassin, Walter Winchell. He has used the radio networks for character assassination on such numerous occasions that it would be trite and a waste of time to enumerate any number of them, but I give you one illustration which will establish beyond doubt that nothing is too untrue or vicious for this man to do.

In May 1943 I spoke in Buffalo, N. Y. I was introduced by the president of the Buffalo Economics League, and the opening prayer was delivered by Monsignor O'Brien, pastor of the city's largest Catholic Church. Other clergymen, Protestant and Catholic, occupied the platform, and the audience was a typical Christian American audience. Imagine my amazement a week later when I heard Walter Winchell say over the radio that on a certain Sunday night (naming the exact date of the meeting) Gerald L. K. Smith, the rabble rouser, jumped on an American flag and spit on it at a meeting of his followers in Buffalo.

Gentlemen, how long must we endure such crucifixion? My young son, who since that time has established himself as a military hero, with the Purple Heart and numerous other medals, was at that time in camp in Texas. Can you imagine the suffering and mental anguish that this statement caused him as well as his mother and my loved ones. To permit an irresponsible character assassin like Walter Winchell to use the radio is as un-American as to permit a public figure to be flogged in public without legal charges. This same man is now practicing his art on this committee, and certainly has done enough to expose his true nature.

I challenge this committee to investigate Walter Winchell. I think a thorough and courageous investigation would establish that he is a deliberate part of a conspiracy to destroy and assassinate the character of any individual who dares invade or question the authority of the left-wing cabal.

As the records will reveal, we operate as a political committee and make regular and lawful reports under the Corrupt Practice Act, as required by law.

I have in my files a brochure put out by this so-called Friends of Democracy entitled "Pattern for Revolution." Although in this brochure I am supposed to be the star rascal, it makes numerous attacks on Members of Congress designed to retire them from Congress. According to my definition, this is politics. This represents money spent to defeat and elect men seeking election and reelection to the Congress of the United States. This brochure was released when I was a candidate for the Presidency on the America First Party ticket. Similar literature was released by the Anti-Defamation League and the Non Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

I petition this committee to ascertain why these named organizations do not report their expenditures to the Clerk of the House of Representatives as provided for under the so-called Corrupt Practice Act. If Gerald L. K. Smith, candidate for the Presidency on a young party ticket, must report to the Clerk of the House, then why must not the organizations who fight him report to the Clerk of the House?

This one brochure, which indeed is an expensive set-up, levels a political attack during an election year at former Senator Gerald P. Nye, Congressman Clare E. Hoffman, ex-Congressman Stephen Day, Congressman Roy Woodruff, and ex-Congressman Hamilton Fish.

You will observe, gentlemen, that there are numerous ex-Congressmen listed, and I regret to confess that I believe the attacks made on these men by the above-named organizations were instrumental in their defeat, while a thorough investigation and exposure of their activities, including the sources of their

revenue, would have been sufficient to protect these ex-Members of Congress against the attacks made upon them.

I petition this committee of Congress to investigate the activities of Frank Sinatra, who, on the surface, seems to be just a highly paid emaciated crooner, but who recently gave support to a meeting of the American Youth for Democracy which held an elaborate banquet at the Hotel Ambassador in Los Angeles, and which organization was recently branded by J. Edgar Hoover as the successor to the Young Communist League and one of the most dangerous outfits in the Nation.

I challenge this committee to investigate Mr. Eddie Cantor, who is alleged to have financed highly the activities of the Mobilization for Democracy which Senator Tenney, of California, has now established as being an out-and-out Communist outfit.

I challenge this committee to question the highly publicized movie star, Ingrid Bergman, whom the Communist papers of the west coast, as well as the metropolitan press, publicized as having given her moral and financial support to the American Youth for Democracy (successor to the Young Communist League).

I challenge this committee to interrogate Edward G. Robinson who has been active and prominent in the same Mobilization for Democracy and who was in the mob picket line the night it took 800 policemen to maintain order in the city of Los Angeles.

I challenge this committee to thoroughly investigate the (1) Friends of Democracy, the (2) Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the (3) Anti-Defamation League.

If this committee has the courage to investigate these organizations, it will discover an underground network of character assassination, intimidation, and coercion, with a highly financed Gestapo organization, that will shock America. I am willing to assert that these organizations cannot stand the light of exposure.

I would challenge you to investigate the Communist Party, but of course that has already been a part of your procedure. However, I petition this committee to introduce and seek the passage of such legislation as will require members of the Communist Party to register with the State Department as foreign agents. I make this recommendation on the grounds that in every instance where the facts are available, disciplined members of the Communist Party are governed by the desires and will of the Moscow government, over and above the Government of the United States.

A case in point: As a typical exhibit, or rather a case to establish my point, I challenge this committee to study the attempts that have been made to destroy the influence of the Rev. Dr. Walter A. Maier, the world's most influential Lutheran preacher. This man is one of the heads of the world's largest theological seminaries. He broadcasts over more than 500 radio stations. He is a Christian above reproach and enjoys the respect of millions of Americans, both Catholic and Protestant. The attempt made by Walter Winchell, L. M. Birkhead, Rex Stout, and others who belong to the cabal of character assassins, to get this man off the radio and to destroy his influence in the world is almost beyond the imagination.

I challenge this committee to investigate those who attempted to break up a meeting recently organized by the friends of Frank Fay, the Christian actor, who organized a rally at Madison Square Garden for the purpose of defending Christianity and the church in general against Communists and atheists.

I challenge this committee to investigate the increasing number of instances where Communists are picketing preachers and churches. I will not cite these instances, but merely assert that they exist in order to inspire the interest of the committee. The details can be furnished upon request.

I challenge this committee to investigate the so-called War Writers Board, headed by Rex Stout. This board has posed as being an official voice of the Government and has been used to smear and abuse numerous good Americans.

I challenge this committee to investigate all departments of the armed services where orientation and reorientation is taking place. In connection with this, I would advise that they make a careful study where books have been taken out of libraries because they were anti-Communist and other books put in because they were pro-Communist. To illustrate: I can furnish witnesses and affidavits to establish the fact that in a certain Army camp a reorientation instructor indulged in lengthy discourses praising the system of government in Russia and then wound up his discourse by warning the soldiers against

American Fascists, such as William Randolph Hearst, John E. Rankin, Gerald L. K. Smith, etc. Those who have given me the facts concerning this particular incident tell me that innocent boys are sent out of that camp believing that they should fight Mr. Hearst, Mr. Rankin, and others just as they have been fighting the Japs and the Germans.

In closing, I say to you, gentlemen of the committee, that my experience is almost a complete example of how a man, sincerely seeking to fight communism, can be smeared to the saturation point, even though I come from a family of four generations of clergymen. In our family on either side there has never been an indictment, a conviction, an imprisonment, or any legal accusation, or crime, or law violation. My son, Gerald Smith, Jr., volunteered for a suicide engagement, fought in this war nearly 4 months behind the Japanese lines, and was wounded in five places. He fought over 80 days without taking his clothes or shoes off except to change and bathe his burning, starving body in a jungle stream. In the past 5 years you have seen accounts in the press smearing me as everything from a lunatic to a Nazi. I have been run through all the wringers and over all the barrels. Every department of the Government has investigated me, whether it be the Internal Revenue Department, the Military Intelligence, the Naval Intelligence, or the FBI. I have been worked on by privately financed Gestapo organizations that have attempted to destroy my activities by smear and character assassination, but the fact remains that I have been invulnerable to their attacks. I have never even been called before a grand jury and have never been convicted of any crime against my fellow man or against my country. My following is increasing geometrically. There has developed in this country a large number of citizens who are learning to read between the lies my enemies tell.

My only son has just been mustered out. He is 22 years of age. He has a chestful of medals and citations. I am not concerned for myself. I am a battle-scarred veteran. I have learned how to deal with these devils who make it a crime from their viewpoint to be an old-fashioned, Bible-believing, Christ-loving American, and by the grace of God I shall remain just that. But I covet something for my son and his little daughter—namely, that they and other young people in America shall be able to defend true traditional Americanism and fight Red treason and alien propaganda without being submitted to the things that I have endured. To this cause have I given my life and for this cause am I willing to die. Even prison would be sweet if by its endurance I thought that I could polarize the sentiment of America and awaken our citizenry to the menacing streams of poison being released hourly upon the innocent, the naive, and the uninitiated by those who hate Christian Americanism.

Below I list the 10 principles which define nationalism and for which we propose to fight in the year 1946.

1. Preservation of America as a Christian nation.
2. Expose and fight communism.
3. Safeguard American liberty against the menace of bureaucratic fascism.
4. Maintain a Government set-up by the majority which abuses no minority and is abused by no minority.
5. Protect and earmark national resources for our citizenry first.
6. Maintain the George Washington foreign policy of friendship with all nations, trade with all nations, entangling alliances with none.
7. Oppose a world government and a super state.
8. Prove that the worker, the farmer, the businessman, the veteran, the unemployed, the aged, and the infirm can enjoy more abundance under the true American system than any alien system now being proposed by foreign propagandists.
9. Stop immigration until all veterans have jobs.
10. Abolish the corrupt money system.

GERALD L. K. SMITH.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Smith, will you refresh my memory and tell me the date of the death of Huey Long?

Mr. SMITH. He was shot on the 10th of September and died on the 12th, 1938—no, he was shot on the 8th, died on the 10th and was buried on the 12th.

Mr. THOMAS. What were your activities in 1936?

Mr. SMITH. I supported the activities of the Union Party.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the Union Party?

Mr. SMITH. It was a party which enjoyed the support of Father Coughlin and Dr. Townsend, and had as its candidate for President the now Congressman William Lemke.

Mr. THOMAS. What were your activities in 1937?

Mr. SMITH. In 1937 I laid the ground work and contacted anti-Communist leaders in preparation for setting up our headquarters in 1938 in Detroit.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that organization that set up headquarters in 1938?

Mr. SMITH. The Federation of Americanization of Michigan.

Mr. THOMAS. What sort of an organization was it? What was the purpose of it?

Mr. SMITH. A nonprofit, educational corporation for the purpose of enlightening the people on the perils of communism, nazism, and fascism.

Mr. THOMAS. And how many members did that organization have?

Mr. SMITH. It was not a membership organization in the sense that it solicited members and charged membership dues or initiated members. It solicited support for its activities.

Mr. THOMAS. And it was opposed to communism, nazism, and fascism?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; for the purpose of educating the people on those isms.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you must be very familiar with all those three ideologies. What is your definition of communism?

Mr. SMITH. Communism as of today is that form of government being practiced in Russia under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your definition of nazism?

Mr. SMITH. That form of government which existed in Italy and Germany prior to the death of Mussolini and prior to the death of Mussolini and Hitler, and prior to the defeat of Italy and Germany.

Mr. THOMAS. Then nazism, you say, would be the same as the other two, except that it was in Germany and Hitler was in command?

Mr. SMITH. I think that fascism, nazism, and communism are practically the same thing.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that there were any Fascist activities in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What kind of organizations practice fascism here in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. The New Deal administration.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not expect that answer. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with that Congressman? [Laughter.]

Mr. THOMAS. I am not going to make any statement on that.

Mr. SMITH. I think the best record we have on that is in the report of the Dies committee.

Mr. THOMAS. What organizations did the Dies committee say were Fascists?

Mr. SMITH. The German-American Bund.

Mr. THOMAS. Has your organization ever been charged with being Fascists?

Mr. SMITH. We have been charged with being Fascist by the Communist Party and the New Deal brain trust and bureaucrats.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, outside of the New Deal and outside of whatever it was you mentioned then—the Fascists in the United States—what other organizations are Fascist in the United States?

Mr. SMITH. I would rather have a definition of fascism. Fascism as yet has never been defined.

Mr. THOMAS. I thought you defined it just a few minutes ago.

Mr. SMITH. I mean by our own Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you care to define it here?

Mr. SMITH. I would say that it is a form of government and a political ideology that conforms to the practices of Mussolini and Hitler.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that the German-American Bund was a Fascist organization?

Mr. SMITH. I would say that it was ideologically Fascist. I would not say that it was effectively Fascist. The only effective fascism that has really imperiled our people in their daily life in this country has been the administration of the New Deal bureaucracy.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that the Silver Legion was a Fascist organization?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I have never had any contact with the Silver Legion since 1933.

Mr. THOMAS. You have not had any contact with Pelley since then?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, after 1938 and into 1939, what were your activities?

Mr. SMITH. I would like to complete that statement concerning the Silver Legion, if you will, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Go ahead.

Mr. SMITH. In 1933 I was granted a complimentary membership card in the Silver Legion, or Silver Shirts. I returned the card and expressed in my own writing that I was not in sympathy with the ideology of the movement, and asked to be removed from the records. The whole period of the granting of that complimentary card and return covered less than 6 weeks. I have repudiated that organization not less than 6 weeks. I have repudiated that organization not less 12 times a years since 1933, and on the occasion of every investigation of every group.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that the Ku Klux Klan was a Fascist organization?

Mr. SMITH. I would say that Ku Klux Klan might very easily tend toward fascism. Any attempt on the part of a high organized minority group to dominate the affairs of the Nation might become fascism.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, you have referred to the New Deal before. Would you say that was more Fascist or more Communist?

Mr. SMITH. I would say that they employ the ideology of the Communists and the technique of the Fascists. I think Mr. Roosevelt was very much an imitator of Mr. Hitler.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, Mr. Roosevelt has passed away now.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; but he personified the New Deal.

Mr. THOMAS. Let him rest in peace. Would say Huey Long was a Fascist?

Mr. SMITH. The answer is positively "No."

Mr. THOMAS. Now, after 1938 what did you do in 1939, and the latter part of 1938?

Mr. SMITH. My activities in 1939 were mainly broadcasting over radio stations, concerning communism, nazism, and fascism.

Mr. THOMAS. And you have copies of those broadcasts?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; and so does every agency of the Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have any yourself?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interpose there, have you ever made a radio address that you have not kept a copy of?

Mr. SMITH. I think not. I will say that most of my addresses have been electrically transcribed and can be obtained in the offices of radio station WJR in Detroit.

Mr. THOMAS. But you yourself have copies of them?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest to the committee that the counsel obtain copies of every one of those radio broadcasts.

Mr. RANKIN. Are you willing to submit copies of those broadcasts to this committee?

Mr. SMITH. I am perfectly willing. I will say that it might require a few days or a week or two to obtain them.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all right. Is that understood then?

Mr. RANKIN. As I understand it, we are taking the same attitude that we did with reference to these other people; we are calling for them after they are delivered and not beforehand.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all right. They have all been delivered. It is understood that counsel is going to get copies of all these radio broadcasts that have been made?

Mr. ADAMSON. Will you produce them, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I will produce them willingly, but I don't produce them gladly, because it will require—you must remember you are asking me for manuscripts that were delivered in 1939 and 1940. They are 7 years old, and I will have to locate them, dig them out.

Mr. ADAMSON. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that since Mr. Smith has already agreed to permit our investigators to go in and look at all his records, suppose we go in and read them, and we will get copies of those that are pertinent. There may be lots of stuff there in which we are not interested at all.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all right.

Mr. SMITH. I will be only too happy to have the committee read them all.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, the other speeches you made that were not broadcast; do you have copies of those?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Why not?

Mr. SMITH. They were made in meetings extemporaneously.

Mr. THOMAS. Were they all extemporaneous?

Mr. SMITH. All my public addresses are extemporaneous.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, the speeches that you made in 1945, particularly the ones out in California; were they extemporaneous?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You have no copies of those at all?

Mr. SMITH. I think you will find that the Anti-Defamation League has copies of them. I would call on them. They can furnish them.

Mr. THOMAS. Then I would like to suggest to the chairman that he have the counsel get in touch with the Anti-Defamation League and ask them for copies of Mr. Smith's addresses.

Mr. ADAMSON. Very well, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, after 1938 what were your activities—I mean after 1939?

Mr. SMITH. I continued the same as in 1939.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that?

Mr. SMITH. Broadcasting over the radio.

Mr. THOMAS. Under your own name or under the auspices of some organization?

Mr. SMITH. Under the auspices of the Federation of Americanization of Michigan.

Mr. THOMAS. And beginning with 1940, what were your activities?

Mr. SMITH. The same.

Mr. THOMAS. Right up to date now?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Mr. THOMAS. When did it change?

Mr. SMITH. In 1942 I sought the nomination for the United States Senate on the Republican ticket in Michigan.

Mr. THOMAS. You sought the nomination?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Were you successful?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Who was your opponent?

Mr. SMITH. Senator Homer Ferguson.

Mr. THOMAS. Then after that what?

Mr. SMITH. Then we began to lay the foundation for the organization of the America First Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Has there been any connection at all between the America First Party and the America First Committee?

Mr. SMITH. You mean organic and financial?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Were you ever a member of the America First Committee?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever address any of their meetings?

Mr. SMITH. I may have addressed one or two, but I had my own meetings, and among the nationalists it was the general strategy that I should assume responsibility for the activities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, where I had something like a hundred thousand enrolled followers.

Mr. THOMAS. You are sure you were not a member of the America First Committee?

Mr. SMITH. I am sure.

Mr. THOMAS. You never addressed any of their meetings?

Mr. SMITH. I would be disposed to deny it. Had I been a member I would have been proud to have admitted it.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you ever have any conferences with the head of that organization?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Who was the head of that organization?

Mr. SMITH. Gen. Robert E. Wood, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Mr. THOMAS. Just one more question—will you tell the committee the names of all the organizations that you have been a member of? I mean all kinds of organizations, every kind of organization you can think of?

Mr. SMITH. Very few. I would say I was a member of the Democratic Party in Louisianan, a member of the Republican Party in Michigan. As you know, Democrats in Michigan do not act like Democrats in Louisiana.

Mr. THOMAS. No, but never mind that. Just name the organizations.

Mr. SMITH. And the America First Party, the Church—that is about all.

Mr. THOMAS. I think there are some others that you named before that I just can't think of the names.

Mr. SMITH. I am not a member of those organizations. You mean the Christian Veterans?

Mr. THOMAS. No. Then those are all the organizations you have been a member of?

Mr. SMITH. To the best of my memory.

Mr. THOMAS. You have been charged, and repeatedly charged as I understand it—

Mr. RANKIN (interposing). Mr. Thomas, do you refer to fraternal organizations?

Mr. THOMAS. I mean every kind of organization. I don't care what it is.

Mr. SMITH. That is right. I do not belong to and have never belonged to any secret organization, fraternal or otherwise.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, you have been charged and repeatedly charged—and I have read this in the newspapers, and in fact it is sort of incorporated with this series of questions by these Members of Congress here—it is very definitely in the series of questions, because this group of Members of Congress, Mr. Patterson, Mr. Savage, Mr. De Lacy, Mr. Marcantonio, charge you as America's most raucous purveyor of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious bigotry, which is a pretty strong charge. Do you believe that you have been anti-Semitic?

Mr. SMITH. The best answer to that question, Mr. Congressman, is in the paragraph of my statement under the word "hypothesis."

Mr. Chairman, may I petition this committee, with due recognition for our obligations to the Congress of the United States—may I petition this committee on behalf of myself concerning one matter? You must remember that I am under a serious charge. I am being charged with being disloyal to my country. This is not an ordinary investigation. The future of my son and my family may rest with the action of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what is it, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I appeal for the right to make a 15 minute statement in this committee.

Mr. THOMAS. No, I have asked a simple question. He has been charged with being anti-Semitic, and I want to know whether he

thinks he has been anti-Semitic or not. That can be answered very quickly.

Mr. SMITH. I insist on answering that with my statement, because I have prepared the answer to your question, Mr. Congressman, deliberately, knowing that such a question would be raised, and I prefer—rather than to speak extemporaneously, I prefer to speak for the record from the manuscript I have prepared for the purpose of answering this very question.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement, Mr. Smith, is in the record that you hold in your hand.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, if this man wants to read his statement or make a statement to the committee under these charges, I think he should be permitted to do so. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. There will be no applause in this hearing.

Mr. RANKIN. Everyone we have brought here who did not resist the subpoena of this committee—everyone we have brought since I have been a member of this committee has been permitted to make a statement, every single one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. On the contrary, since I have been connected with the committee there has been no statement submitted to be read to the committee, and I see no reason to deviate from the rule. I have held that this statement may be placed in the record.

Mr. RANKIN. None of us know what it is. We don't have time to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is 10 minutes past 11.

Mr. THOMAS. I think we ought to continue just as long as the committee wants to ask questions.

Mr. RANKIN. If this man is guilty of disloyalty, we want to know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, let us proceed in order. Mr. Thomas has the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Smith, how long will it take you to read that part of your statement having to do with that question of mine.

Mr. SMITH. That is the big question, Mr. Congressman. On that question hinges the future of your committee, the misconceptions concerning the integrity of this committee, the statement presented by these pro-Communist Congressmen who are following the Communist Party line, and their first loyalty is to Moscow, and as a Christian American they have impugned my patriotism and I believe as a citizen I have a right to petition for a 15-minute free statement without restraint, because I am being branded by traitors as a traitor, and I insist on making a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed in order, Mr. Witness. When the examination is concluded, if the committee desires to hear you for 15 minutes, the Chair will be glad to give you that privilege. Are there any further questions?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes, I didn't get an answer to that last question.

Mr. SMITH. May I answer your question by saying that as the psychology has developed among certain Jewish Gestapo organizations in America that brands any man who criticizes any Jew as anti-semitic, and based on that practice I have been branded by these privately financed Gestapo groups as anti-Semitic, but according to the religion of my Christian mother I am not. She taught

me that it was a sin and unpatriotic to hate any man because of his race or his creed.

I am opposed to the majority abusing any minority, but I am opposed to any minority abusing the majority.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, Mr. Smith, will you name those Gestapo groups?

Mr. SMITH. I have gone over them carefully in my statement, what they are.

Mr. THOMAS. Can't you name them now?

The CHAIRMAN. Just insert the names in the record.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have them in the record right at this point.

Mr. RANKIN. Read them out of the statement.

Mr. THOMAS. Just refer to your statement and read those particular names.

Mr. SMITH. Any answer to this question will not be a substitute for the statement that I wish to make?

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. SMITH. The so-called Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, the so-called Anti-Defamation League, the so-called Friends of Democracy, directed by Rex Stout and L. M. Birkhead are the three most flagrant operators of private Gestapo activities in this country.

Mr. THOMAS. Those are the only ones?

Mr. SMITH. They are the ones that are raising the money and spending it to harass American citizens who are alleged to have ever criticized any Jew anywhere.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, you have presented the committee with the platform of the America First Party. You subscribe to that platform, do you not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I notice on page 3 under "Jews" you say, "We must admit that there is a Jewish problem that must be solved honestly, realistically and courageously."

What is this Jewish problem that you refer to?

Mr. SMITH. Well, in the first place there is a rising tide of anti-Semitism. Are we going to submit to that rising tide and graduate it and exploit it into un-American bigotry, or are we going to attempt to solve it with education and temperance and under the Constitution? That is one answer to your question, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What is another?

Mr. SMITH. Another answer is, is it to continue to be an unpardonable sin in America to criticize the opinion of a Jew? I can criticize an Irishman and Pat just gets mad at me. I can criticize a Methodist preacher and he answers me. He may answer me vindictively, but he doesn't organize the black book and index file among all Methodists to run me down and take stenographic reports of my speeches and get my friends fired from jobs, and brand them as Fascists and Nazis.

We are not the promoters of anti-Semitism. These Gestapo groups who racketeer by frightening Jews in order to get more money to save them from imaginary Hitlers, they are the ones that are promoting anti-Semitism in America, and practically every Congressman in Congress knows it, but most of them don't have the guts to say it.

Mr. THOMAS. Under that same part of your America First platform the party asked this question: "Is it true that 95 percent of the founders of communism were apostate Jews?" What is the purpose of asking that question?

Mr. SMITH. Because that is generally believed.

Mr. THOMAS. And has the America First Party come to any conclusion as to whether it is true or not true?

Mr. SMITH. We have not released any literature on that subject.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether they have come to any conclusion or not on the subject?

Mr. SMITH. No; they have not. When you say "conclusion" you mean a meeting and organization, resolution and an official statement?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. The second question, "Is it true that the New Deal is heavily staffed with a certain type of Jewish bureaucrats?"

Did the organization come to any conclusion on that question?

Mr. SMITH. Not officially. That is generally believed by most Americans.

Mr. THOMAS. But has your organization come to any conclusion on it?

Mr. SMITH. Not officially.

Mr. THOMAS. Has it come to any unofficial conclusion on it?

Mr. SMITH. I would not say so. In fact, that may be an exaggeration. I haven't the facts, but I know it is generally believed, and when anything is generally believed, a courageous political party will cope with those things with frank and honest answers.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you advocate that the Republican Party and the Democratic Party come to a conclusion on that question?

Mr. SMITH. I don't think the issue can be evaded in 1948.

Mr. THOMAS. And the third question, "Is it true that the movies and radio industries are largely in the hands of certain Jews?"

Has your organization come to any conclusion on that?

Mr. SMITH. Not officially.

Mr. THOMAS. Remember, these are questions asked by the America First Party.

Mr. SMITH. That's right; because those are the most pertinent questions having to do with the Jewish problem. There is a general belief that Russian Jews control too much Hollywood propaganda, and they are trying to popularize Russian Communism in America through that instrumentality. Personally I believe that is the case.

Mr. THOMAS. The next question propounded by the America First Party is, "Is it true that the policy of newspapers is directed or obstructed by the fact that the big department-store advertisers are reputedly 75 percent Jews"?

Has your organization come to any conclusion on that?

Mr. SMITH. Not officially; but that is generally believed.

Mr. THOMAS. Have they come to any unofficial conclusion?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I would not want to distinguish between official and unofficial.

Mr. THOMAS. I just bring that question up because you said "not officially."

Mr. SMITH. I want it understood, Congressman, that I have no desire to evade these questions. I will say that probably one of the

most sensational supporting facts to the pertinency of that question lies in the current boycott campaign that is being conducted in Washington and New York against the New York News and the Washington Times-Herald, which was launched before the Advertising Club of the city of Washington by a department store vice president from New York only a few days ago, and was editorialized by the Washington Times-Herald.

Mr. THOMAS. What was his name?

Mr. SMITH. Memory does not serve me. We have it in the record.

Mr. RANKIN. Put the name in the record at this point.

Mr. SMITH. I think the best thing to do would be to insert in the record the editorial in the Washington Times-Herald which gave the full account of what happened at that Advertising Club.

Mr. THOMAS. Get that then, if you have it.

Mr. SMITH. I will supply it.

Mr. ADAMSON. Was the man named Ira Hirschman? Is that the man you are talking about?

Mr. SMITH. Of the Bloomingdale store in New York City. I think that is the man.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Mr. Thomas, right on that point I just want to ask Mr. Thomas if he wants to go further into this question of advocating a boycott publicly. If you want to develop that, it might be necessary to summon the writer of this editorial and these people who were present and heard this speech.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I am in favor of going into it all right, but I think it would be a little out of place if we asked the writer of the editorial to come before us. I think they have a right to write any editorial they want to.

Mr. RANKIN. If he was present and heard the speech. If I were to get up here, or if you were to get up here, and advocate a boycott of anybody, I think it would be a fit subject for investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us proceed.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I have some other questions I would like to ask, a great many questions. Many of them depend on some of the speeches of Mr. Smith. I want to be very fair to the committee. I don't want to take up any more time at this time, but I want to be certain that we make proper arrangements to have Mr. Smith back at a later date.

Mr. RANKIN. May I suggest one question here that has been overlooked?

Mr. THOMAS. I will not ask any more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions by the committee?

Mr. MURDOCK. I have just a few questions, Mr. Chairman. I would like, for the record and for my own satisfaction, to have explained a little bit further the question I asked a moment ago, the reason for the witness coming before us. May I ask, Mr. Smith, the background of your appearance here? Is it on your own motion or were you invited to appear as a witness, or were you subpoenaed to appear?

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe you were not here at the beginning of the session, Mr. Murdock, when counsel made a statement of how he came to be here.

Mr. MURDOCK. Yes, I was here. I questioned one word that the Congressman used, "by summons," but I want to get that straight in my own mind.

Mr. RANKIN. I was merely asking that question. I didn't know what procedure counsel took to get him here, whether he summoned him, subpenaed him, or merely invited him.

Mr. MURDOCK. We do have it in the record, but I would like to have just a brief statement from the witness.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, through the years Congressman Celler, Congressman Sabath, Congressman Marcantonio, and other left-wing Congressmen have risen on the floor and brought into question my patriotism, and branded me as a Fascist, and the usual line of names applied by the Communist Party to any who are bitterly anti-Communist. Some time ago I petitioned the committee—or rather suggested to the committee—I did not petition, I suggested to the committee that there was no question or accusation that these men could raise that I could not meet, and that I would be only too glad to submit myself to a merciless cross-examination concerning my whole activities and my ideology. Sometime after that—I don't know whether your invitation to appear, or your request, I should say, to appear was because of that letter, or just in the regular course. Undoubtedly these left-wing groups have been insisting that I be called and undoubtedly it would only be normal that you call me. And so, so far as I know, the only reason I was called here was because I received a letter from Mr. Adamson saying that they would like to have me appear, and that if I didn't want to come willingly I would be subpenaed. I wrote back and said I would not only come willingly, but I thought it was a good idea.

Mr. MURDOCK. That covers the ground. This is the point I had in mind: As I understand it, if witnesses volunteer to come before the committee, or request to come, they do so at their own expense; whereas, if they are subpenaed, that is a committee expense.

Mr. SMITH. Well, Mr. Chairman, that did not occur to me, and I would much rather pay my own expenses and have it known that I was willing to be cross-examined without mercy by this committee than to be subpenaed and create the impression that I had something to hide.

Mr. MURDOCK. Now, just one or two other questions. You have already answered this indirectly, but I want a direct answer. You are a man of wide public observation. In your judgment, what is the greatest menace to our country to which this committee needs to give its attention?

Mr. SMITH. The strangle-hold that communism has on our administration here in Washington, the radio, our systems of communication. Indicative of that is the fact that we have a situation that removes a man like Upton Close from the radio and continues to use a man like Walter Winchell. That is about the most symptomatic answer I could give you.

Mr. MURDOCK. From the very nature of this committee we have the whole field of danger to investigate and to guard against. Are there any other dangerous elements to America that you care to mention?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; I think they appear in the current strike epidemic, which is a rehearsal, of course, for the general strike being conducted by the radicals, and the danger appears at both extremes, the reactionary extreme and the pro-Communist left-wing radical

extreme, with the great mass of workers and innocent citizens wedged in between.

Mr. MURDOCK. I agree that there are two extremes. I am a middle-of-the-road man myself, regardless of the contempt that is sometimes thrown on that term, because I find that where there is a great controversial question, justice and truth are usually someplace between.

Would you care to specify further with regard to these other dangers, so that we may not be blind in one eye but can look in both directions? You mentioned strikes. Have you any other suggestions on this side?

Mr. SMITH. When I mention strikes, the strike embraces the activities of both extremes. Remember, I am not referring only to the strikers; I am referring to the Steel Trust and the great industrial monopolies. I see this danger—and I live in Detroit, and I think that living in Detroit I am in a position to observe intelligently what is going on. The workers want something. The Reds exploit their desires and goad them into extreme action. This produces community reaction against what they do. Then the industrial magnates would like to exploit that sincere reaction on the part of the people. If exploited successfully it may graduate into calling out the military and holding the military, and the concentration of too much power in the hands of the military, which may easily become a type of American fascism or military dictatorship. We don't want either one.

Mr. MURDOCK. Here is what I am worried about: We all remember the story of our boyhood days about the fellow who cried, "Wolf! Wolf!" until his cry became ineffective. I wonder if there isn't a danger in our going in one direction to find a danger and thwart it, the danger that we are going to overlook something some other place.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, I think it is possible to have your pocket picked while you are on the way to a fire, but when you have a situation where one individual can paralyze telephone communications between the White House and the National Capitol, you are on the border of something serious.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us develop that a little bit.

Mr. MURDOCK. I wonder how much communistic influence has to do with these strikes. I wonder what the connecting link is. I have tried to find out from an avowed Communist whether they had financial support from Moscow. Of course, there are some of these things that are pretty intangible. You can't get to them, but what further proof do you have that communistic influences are behind this big steel strike, for instance?

Mr. SMITH. Do you want me to give you a convincing illustration?

Mr. MURDOCK. Yes; I would like to have it.

Mr. SMITH. You will recall that in 1940 Stalin and Hitler were allies, and Britain was fighting for her existence and needed airplanes. Ninety-five percent of all the airplane bearings in the world were made by the Bohn Aluminum Co., in Detroit, in 1940, and in their subsidiary factories. The moment we offered lend-lease to Britain these factories were struck—just the factories making bearings. I made it my business to investigate the personnel behind that strike, and the strike was called by three men, Nat Ganley, who

had been the Communist candidate for the Senate the year before; John Anderson, who had been the Communist candidate for governor that year, with about six aliases, an old, flea-bitten organizer; and one other whose name I don't remember. Those three men paralyzed the production of airplane bearings for 7 weeks.

Mr. LANDIS. You don't remember the name of the third one?

Mr. SMITH. There was Anderson and Ganley—well, I can furnish the committee with the three names. They paralyzed the production of airplane bearings necessary for planes we were making for Britain for 7 weeks, and it is the opinion of men I know that it might have determined the course of events in Norway.

In Detroit they have organized what we call the Tool and Die Council. It does not represent all the workers. It is a nerve-blocking system. They call these Reds into these councils. Then they hold their meetings till about 1 o'clock in the morning and the regular fellows have to go home and they go out to see their girls, and the Reds stay on and do the main business from 11 to 1 o'clock. They have learned that by merely calling out the tool-and-die men they can paralyze the whole automotive industry.

It is not a case of overalarm; it is a case of underinformation concerning what is going on. My personal conviction is that the recent strike epidemic is a rehearsal for the general strike. A man like Quill, who is a known Communist, a member of the city council in New York City, also a colleague of Ben Davis, Negro Communist, who in a speech in a church in Washington, D. C., less than 6 weeks ago said that the greatest administration of government ever conducted in America was the legislation passed during the reconstruction days in the South.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that the meeting in the Negro church down here in which the Negro Ben Davis, Communist from New York, and Congressman De Lacy lauded the carpetbag administration in the South after the Civil War?

Mr. SMITH. That is right; as "the greatest administrative legislation the South ever had."

Mr. RANKIN. I want to get that record.

Mr. SMITH. In answer to the Congressman's question I will say that those are just two symptoms that I deem illustrate that three Reds were able to paralyze the whole bearing industry. When a fact like that takes place, when President Truman cannot call Congress just because somebody won't stick a plug in a hole in the telephone headquarters, our Government has broken down, and it is time for somebody to yell "Fire," and it is time for people to quit nagging those of us who hate communism and have an unimpeachable record of good Americanism, who are devoting ourselves to fighting this treason.

Mr. MURDOCK. I am trying to get at this phase: We are so prone to attribute causes or motives when there may be other logical causes or motives prompting acts. Now, I just wonder whether American labor has any other reason for striking than that it is prompted from Moscow.

Mr. SMITH. The answer to that question, Mr. Congressman, is "Yes, definitely." Russia needed a revolution. Russia needed democracy. There were Russians who wanted the sort of revolution that George Washington gave America, but the Reds came in and exploited that

justifiable desire, stole it and produced a dictatorship comparable only to the dictatorship and tyranny of the czars.

Mr. MURDOCK. My recollection is that President Woodrow Wilson favored the revolution when it started in 1917, and hoped, as Washington did in 1776, that it would be effective.

Mr. RANKIN. No, Mr. Murdock, let me call your attention for just a moment—that revolution in 1917 came very near causing us to lose the First World War, and Woodrow Wilson was not in favor of that revolution at that time. The gentleman has been misinformed on that.

Mr. MURDOCK. Doesn't the gentleman recall that Woodrow Wilson was glad to welcome Russia in the fight against autocracy?

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentlemen want to compose your differences I suggest you ought to take some other time and place. Let us proceed in order.

Mr. RANKIN. Russia was fighting on our side of the First World War, and the revolution took Russia entirely out of the war, and Woodrow Wilson could not have been in sympathy with that movement.

Mr. MURDOCK. My only point is that in the very beginning of the revolution in 1917 Woodrow Wilson accepted the struggles of Russia away from autocracy and a start in the direction of democracy, just as George Washington favored the beginnings of the rule by the people of France when his friend Lafayette led in the movement. In both cases these two great American Presidents favored the move before any blood had been shed and before extremists converted the movement and headed it in the wrong direction. I think I will forego arguing this out with Congressman Rankin until some later time.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a good idea. Are there any further questions?

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Smith, I am interested in that statement you made there. Who is that individual that can stop all that information coming from the White House to the Capitol?

Mr. SMITH. Whoever has the authority to paralyze the telephone system.

Mr. LANDIS. You don't know who that individual is?

Mr. SMITH. No. It can easily be ascertained rather quickly.

Mr. LANDIS. There must be somebody—if you make a statement of that kind, there must be somebody, some individual.

Mr. SMITH. Is it not true that Washington had a telephone strike the other day?

Mr. LANDIS. That is right.

Mr. SMITH. Whoever called the strike is the one whose name should be supplied in answer to your question.

Mr. LANDIS. Whoever called the telephone strike?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Smith, didn't you have someone in mind, though, who was right at the switchboard at either the White House or the Capitol?

Mr. SMITH. No. If I created that impression, I want to withdraw it.

Mr. LANDIS. You don't believe the revolution is on now, but that they are just having a practice revolution?

Mr. SMITH. I wouldn't say it is a practice revolution. I will say that the one ambition of the Reds, as defined by Mr. Foster in a big rally at Madison Square Garden the other night is a complete strike, and

the only complaint he has with the current strikes is that there are not enough of them. If Mr. Quill can paralyze all the transportation in New York City, you will be closer to something that might be called a revolution than the average individual might imagine. Imagine closing all the elevators and subways and busses and streetcars. Even the suggestion of such a thing should be a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment, and if we had a strong Government that would be the thing that would take place right away.

Mr. LANDIS. Do you believe, then, that some of these Communist strike leaders are labor leaders?

Mr. SMITH. I believe that although he has kept his own union clean, Mr. Murray as head of the CIO is a prisoner of the Reds.

Mr. LANDIS. And there are some labor leaders in there, in Mr. Murray's organization, that you think are Reds?

Mr. SMITH. I certainly do. That is a matter of record.

Mr. LANDIS. From your experience with Communists you believe their attitude is that if you are not a Communist you are a Fascist?

Mr. SMITH. If you are not a Communist, then you are a Fascist, an anti-Semite, an appeaser—and I could go on with a lengthy list of names.

Mr. RANKIN. Isn't it a fact that Communists call all southern Democrats "Fascists"?

The CHAIRMAN. Not all.

Mr. RANKIN. I have never found one yet that did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Smith, the committee has now approximately 15 minutes until the convening of Congress. I believe I have called on each member of the committee. I now yield to you, sir, to make such statement as you desire.

Mr. SMITH. In connection with this I would like to ask Mrs. Smith to prepare some exhibits that I want to present.

Mr. RANKIN. There is one question, Mr. Smith, that I would like to ask you before you go into that statement, if I am not to have an opportunity to cross-examine you again.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to have a session later.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to ask this question. You are charged also with stirring up religious strife. I want to know if you have been attacking other churches, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, the Catholic Church, or any other church, and if so, why did you do it?

Mr. SMITH. Well, of course, you know the most pertinent part of your question is, Have I attacked the Catholic Church? May I say that I am scheduled to make 10 addresses between now and the 15th of February with Father Arthur W. Termineillo of Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. RANKIN. Your answer then is what?

Mr. SMITH. The answer is that I not only do not attack Catholics, but I believe the Catholic Church represents the greatest single bulwark against communism in America.

Mr. RANKIN. What about the other churches, Mr. Smith? Have you ever attacked any of the others? In other words, you are charged with stirring up religious strife in other denominations.

Mr. SMITH. The only churchmen I have attacked—so-called churchmen—in the Protestant Church are those who are pro-Communist and who talk communism and praise communism. Earl Browder has said there were over 3,000 clergymen in the Communist Party. I attack those men whenever I run into them. If I attack a Communist Rabbi,

then I am immediately branded as anti-Semitic, and I usually avoid that except under extreme circumstances.

Mr. RANKIN. Now go ahead with your statement.

Mr. SMITH. I want to read a little paragraph which I referred to when you were questioning me, Mr. Thomas, under the heading of "Hypothesis":

It is my firm conviction, after years of fighting communism, that there has developed in the United States a technique for curbing and destroying anyone who becomes an effective foe of communism, especially that branch of Marxism known as Stalinism. Any individual who projects himself into the fight and exposes without fear or reserve the enemies of America operating in the pay of or under the direction of the Communist Party is sure to experience the following:

1. He will be branded as a Fascist, antilabor, he will be advertised as a bigot, smeared even to the point that certain conventional institutions will withdraw from him; he will be listed as anti-Semitic, he will be subjected to ridicule, those who support him morally, physically, and financially will be made the victims of the same line of persecution.

For 10 years I have been fighting communism, fascism, and nazism. In 1940 I filed a petition bearing about one-half million names with Congressman Martin Dies. The purpose of this petition was to give moral support to the activities of his committee and to call for the outlawry of communism, nazism, and fascism. Slowly I began to discover that I was being typed by the left wing element to be publicized and advertised as a Fascist and an anti-Semite.

The organizations which have been the most active in doing this job are the following:

1. The so-called Friends of Democracy, which has never campaigned against communism, headed by Rex Stout, L. M. Birkhead, and others. Financed mainly by frightened Jews who are kept scientifically frightened by the organizations which exploit them for money raising purposes.

2. The so-called Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, which is definitely pro-Communist, which never fights communism, and which conducts a highly financed gestapo-like organization.

3. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, which has an elaborate and expensive system for indexing, filing, and following up on the names of individuals who have been alleged to have criticized Jews.

May I point out, gentlemen, that not one of these organizations ever organized a campaign against communism. It has been my observation that these three organizations have been the leaders in either accepting the Communist Party line of attack on me, or of supplying new lines of their own. Files easily accessible to this committee will reveal that stories released by New Masses, the newspaper PM and the Daily Worker frequently appear in bulletins issued by the Anti-Defamation League, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the Friends of Democracy.

In the past 5 years I have witnessed and experienced a ruthless attack on our American way of life and on the civil rights of American citizens. In practically every instance the suffering and persecution which our people have endured could be traced to instigators connected with the Communist Party, the Friends of Democracy, the Anti-Defamation League and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

May I point out one case. On March 15, 1945, I was scheduled to speak in Chicago in the American Federation of Labor Temple located on Marshfield Avenue. It is one of the finest labor temples in America. Prior to the meeting the officials of the labor union received something like 500 threatening telegrams. Their telephone service was paralyzed and their office help was intimidated. The afternoon before the night of the meeting two men invaded the hall with guns, manhandled the custodian, and exploded stench bombs. The place was guarded with sawed-off shotguns. At night the hall was filled with good Christian American people, while outside a mob picket line, close to 1,000, was guarded by something like 300 policemen. The pickets were mostly young Jews, connected with the organizations named above, or the Communist Party, or both.

These people who arouse the terror and hysteria and fear of the Jews systematically go around to these Jewish communities, innocent people, and say, "This man is for Hitler. This man is a Nazi. This man is a Fascist." That is exploited frequently by the Communist leadership, and they join this parade.

The second case. In practically every city where we held meetings the same type of terroristic organization literally terrorizes building managements. Recently I spoke in Denver, Colo. The committees had arranged for me to speak in the Woman's Club of that city. I was to be introduced by the pastor of a local church. For two days prior to the meeting a reign of terror was organized against the Woman's Club. Members were afraid to come into the building. Two Negro Communists called on the president of the club and told her that if I were permitted to speak they would turn over her car and chop up the furniture. The use of the hall was tentatively canceled, but finally we were able to continue with the meeting by insuring the building for \$25,000, which cost us \$100 cash, 3 hours before the meeting. Such pressure had been brought on the insurance company that they called the management and told them that their policy would be no good if I was permitted to speak. The meeting went on and was picketed by the Communist Party in the midst of strong police protection.

3. When it was announced that I was to speak in a high school auditorium in the city of San Francisco, Harry Bridges, who barely escaped deportation because of his Communist activities, announced that if I spoke he would call a general strike and throw a picket line around the building so tight that a flea couldn't get through.

May I digress, gentlemen, to show you something here that is very significant politically, as well as relating to the issues. Recently we had a mayoralty election in Detroit, and all the left wing elements, the CIO, the PAC, the left wing Negro group, the Democratic Party so-called—which is not the kind of a Democratic Party that you know, Mr. Rankin—supported Frankenstein. Mr. Jeffries, the present mayor, only had one organization that endorsed him, and that was our organization, Gerald K. Smith. The left wingers assumed, "Well, that is the kiss of death. Here is this smeared man. All we need to do is to get to the CIO workers in the city of Detroit that Jeffries is Gerald Smith's man." At great expense they spread the propaganda that victory for Jeffries is victory for Gerald L. K. Smith. They all endorsed Frankenstein. They put out half a mil-

lion of these circulars which I leave as an exhibit showing the technique they employed throughout the city.

Mr. RANKIN. Let that go into the record at this point.

Mr. ADAMSON. That will be exhibit 3.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know that that should go into the record. Personally I am not concerned about what happened in an election in Detroit unless there was some un-American activity connected with it.

However, the exhibit may be received.

(The circular The Ghost of Hitler Stalks Detroit was marked "Exhibit 3—Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. Don't you think it is un-American, Mr. Chairman, to call a good citizen that has never been indicted or convicted, an agent of Hitler? Does that protect my civil liberty to permit a Congressman unchallenged to rise on the floor of the House and brand me as a traitor to my country, without recourse? What recourse does an American citizen have to this stuff? When you are branded as un-American and as a stooge of fascism over the radio to 15,000,000 people on Sunday night by Walter Winchell, what does that do to the people who believe in the principles you stand for?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Smith, my personal view about it is that, irrespective of how I feel on the subject, we still have a constitutional provision that protects free speech in this country.

Mr. SMITH. I contend, Mr. Chairman, that these subversive groups are denying us free assembly, and are denying us our rights under the Constitution.

Mr. RANKIN. Was he a Communist candidate?

Mr. SMITH. Frankenstein was endorsed by Foster and the CIO and the PAC.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. Foster, the PAC and Sidney Hillman and the New Deal regime, all endorsed Mr. Frankenstein.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, right at this point, it is time for the House to convene, and I move that we adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Mr. LANDIS. Let him finish his statement first.

Mr. RANKIN. We haven't time. I want to be on the floor when the House convenes.

The CHAIRMAN. I gave Mr. Smith 15 minutes. He has only had about 6 minutes.

Mr. ADAMSON. Does this exhibit go in, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't had an opportunity to see the exhibit.

Mr. RANKIN. Would you just as soon finish in the morning? The House convenes in 5 minutes, and the chances are they will call the roll.

Mr. SMITH. There is no way you can convene this afternoon? I have a 600-mile drive to make to a meeting I am to address, and I would like to take the time today.

The CHAIRMAN. Can the committee come back at 3 o'clock?

Mr. THOMAS. Make it 2:30.

Mr. RANKIN. Let us make it 2 o'clock. I move that we adjourn until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. LANDIS. I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is carried. We will adjourn till 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. this day.)

AFTER RECESS

The committee reassembled at 2 p. m., pursuant to recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Smith, you may proceed with the statement you were making this morning.

TESTIMONY OF GERALD L. K. SMITH—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. For the record I would like to remind the committee, Mr. Chairman, that the statement takes on the form of a petition for redress of grievances, and a petition for investigation into promoted terrorism, denial of civil liberties, conspiracy against freedom, organized character assassination, and corrupt practices, as well as organized rioting. That is the title of the statement that appears on page 1 which I did not read this morning.

I would like to take up with point 3 on page 2. I think there was some exhibits that Mrs. Smith isolated for me this morning, that I want to present as I proceed here.

When it was announced that I was to speak in the high-school auditorium in the city of San Francisco, Harry Bridges, who barely escaped deportation because of his Communist activities, announced that if I spoke he would call a general strike and throw a picket line around the building so tight that a flea couldn't get through. I spoke, and the high school was filled with fine Christian people, but it required 710 police to patrol the building. Prior to the meeting it was necessary for us to get 2 supreme-court decisions from the Supreme Court of the State of California in order to fulfill our engagement.

May I digress long enough, gentlemen of the committee, to say that it is my opinion that when a man like Mr. Bridges, head of a labor union, uses that power to threaten a general strike, to deny another American the right of free speech, he has violated the Constitution, he has violated the law, and he is a criminal, and the agencies that promote and give power to such behavior should be investigated as being un-American. Here is a man that just barely escaped deportation, and here I am an old time American citizen with a boy wounded in this war, and he, this man, threatens a general strike in the whole bay area that would not have permitted them to unload veterans returning from the South Seas and he threatens to call that strike if I were permitted to speak.

Appearing before the school board to protest my right to speak were the very organizations referred to in this statement, who were either represented at the hearing directly or indirectly.

Mr. ADAMSON. You mean all three of the organizations mentioned here?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the Friends of Democracy in that particular situation I don't think have much of an organization in San Francisco, but the B'nai B'rith and the Anti-Defamation League appeared before the school board, and even after the attorney for the school board advised the school board that under the law and the Constitution there was no alternative except to grant us permission to go ahead with the

meeting and permit me to speak, the B'nai B'rith and the Anti-Defamation League sent their official representative in the person of one Mr. Block, who appealed to the board to deny me the right to speak, in cooperation with Mr. Bridges and the Communist Party of California and others.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, in that connection I have read quite a lot of literature published by the Friends of Democracy, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the Anti-Defamation League, and the literature that I have read says that all three of these organizations are very strongly in favor of freedom of speech.

Mr. SMITH. They favor free speech, providing it doesn't include Gerald L. K. Smith it will support that. I can supply this committee if they desire it, with affidavits to show that in numerous instances—for instance, the American Civil Liberties Union has always been considered a liberal organization. Some people have considered it even a pro-Communist organization, but recently in a meeting of their national board of directors they agreed to support my right of free speech, and several units, under the pressure of organizations like the Friends of Democracy, the Anti-Nazi League, and the Anti-Defamation League, several local organizations withdrew from the parent organization of the American Civil Liberties Union, because they said that they were against the right of Gerald K. Smith to rent meeting halls.

I wish I could say something that would inspire this committee to investigate the reign of terror that has been set up in a community against the management when we rent a building. For instance, I wish you could go into the situation of the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles, the most outstanding auditorium. They so terrorized the management that the manager of the building was afraid he was going to be kidnaped, they paralyzed the telephones, they put something like 500 threatening telegrams on his desk, and when the hall was canceled, we threatened legal action to force them to keep the contract. Then they reconsidered. With these conditions—imagine this in America—a member, an honorable member of the City Council of Los Angeles, was the chairman of the meeting; the pastor of the biggest Baptist church pronounced the invocation, and there were 75 clergymen invited who accepted the invitation to appear on the platform. And these are the conditions under which they permitted us to go ahead with the meeting: I had to put up \$1,000 cash to cover any possible damage to the furniture, because they had been threatened so concerning the building. I had to write out my manuscript in full, in advance, although it was not to be broadcast, submit the manuscript to the management, and then put up another \$1,000 to guarantee I would not digress from the manuscript.

I had to insure the audience for \$250,000. I had to agree to furnish and pay as many special police as they designated, at \$7.50 apiece. I had to get a policy protecting the place against riot and public commotion, and we had no broker in Los Angeles that would do that, and they had to cable Lloyds in London to get it, and when we went on the platform to speak we had been compelled by pressure and coercion and terror to put up \$3,100 for the privilege of one American to speak 60 minutes in order to hold our contract.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, on page 3 of your statement, incident No. 5 in Los Angeles, I notice here you say they had 20,000 people

in a mob picket line there. Do you think that 20,000 is an exaggeration?

Mr. SMITH. No; that number is accepted by friends and foes and the metropolitan police. The picket line was led by Edward G. Robinson and Eddie Cantor. Eddie Cantor may not have been in the picket line, but he helped organize it. He appeared at a preliminary meeting calling the picket line. There were 6,000 picket signs that cost something like \$2 each.

Mr. ADAMSON. It seems to me that is a lot of money to have invested. How can they spend so much money just trying to keep you from speaking?

Mr. SMITH. Well, this picket line was organized by a California organization known as the Mobilization for Democracy. This was recently investigated by Senator Tenney's committee and declared to be under Communist domination, led by the leading Communists of the State. They raised so much money from Hollywood personalities and others that they announced at one meeting that they were not going to take up a collection because they had more money than they knew what to do with.

It is my petition in this statement, if you have read it, that if Gerald L. K. Smith, a purveyor of political opinion, is compelled to report to the Clerk of the House of Representatives four to five times a year, according to whether or not there is an election on, as to where he gets his money and where he spends it, those who fight Gerald K. Smith should be compelled to do this.

I would like to present as an exhibit here a very sensational propaganda sheet—

Mr. RANKIN (interposing). Of course, you know that communism is based on hatred of Christianity, do you not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And one of the main objects of the Communist movement is to destroy Christianity and all the institutions and governments based on Christianity? Is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, and I would like to point out three glaring instances of character assassination organized against clergymen by the people who are fighting me, and by organizations mentioned in this statement. I want to give the name of the Reverend Dr. Walter Maier, the Nation's and the world's most influential Lutheran clergyman, one of the heads of Concordia Seminary, the largest theological seminary in the world. He broadcasts over something like 600 radio stations in the world. He is a gentleman and Christian above reproach.

Mr. RANKIN. Where does he live?

Mr. SMITH. His home is in St. Louis. In a recent issue of the so-called Propaganda Battle-Front put out by the Friends of Democracy, they do a special job on Dr. Maier in which they virtually brand him as a traitor to his country. We photostated a copy of this attack on Dr. Maier and ran it in a copy of The Cross and The Flag. I wish to call your attention to this article in The Cross and The Flag of September 1945, "No. 1 character assassin draws dagger on Lutheran Church." I would like to file this as an exhibit for the perusal of this committee. You will observe that on page 626 of the magazine is a photostatic copy of the attack on Dr. Maier.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mark this No. 4.

(The Cross and The Flag, September 1945, was marked "Exhibit 4, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. Now I would like to refer to something as close as Baltimore.

Mr. RANKIN. Who made this attack on Dr. Maier?

Mr. SMITH. The Friends of Democracy, headed by L. M. Birkhead and Rex Stout, the same outfit that underwrote the book Under Cover.

Mr. RANKIN. Wasn't that outfit branded by the Dies committee as subversive?

Mr. ADAMSON. I think it was, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. THOMAS. On that point, wasn't this Rex Stout the head of an organization that was closely affiliated with the OWI during the war?

Mr. SMITH. Rex Stout was one of the mouthpieces and executive directors of an organization known as the War Writers Board.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the one I have in mind, which surrounded itself with a psychological aroma designed to create the impression that they were officials. Weren't they financed, partly at least, by taxpayers' money?

Mr. SMITH. It is my understanding—and I may be subject to correction, but I don't think so—that they were subsidized by certain propaganda funds that were raised out of taxpayers' money.

Mr. THOMAS. Let me put it in a different way. Wasn't their office and the office of the War Writers Board maintained within the offices of OWI?

Mr. SMITH. I could not give you an intelligent answer to that question.

Mr. THOMAS. It is my opinion that they were, because I was on the old committee and we looked up that organization.

Mr. SMITH. I think it would bear investigation and would yield some very sensational results.

To give you an idea of the way they spend money, these Communists in California, here is a very expensive brochure that probably has in it as many as a hundred cuts and plates. This is called Los Angeles against Gerald L. K. Smith. This book is the highest tribute that could be paid to my activities, because every notorious fellow traveler in the State of California, of any consequence, has his picture in that book. I am not saying that everybody in there is a Communist, but they have not overlooked the most effective ones.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, the full title as it appears on this book is Los Angeles Against Gerald L. K. Smith. How a City Organized to Combat Native Fascism. I offer that as exhibit No. 5.

Mr. RANKIN. You offer that for the record?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes, sir.

(The pamphlet entitled "Los Angeles Against Gerald L. K. Smith" was marked "Exhibit 5, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. RANKIN. I want to see if there are any statements in here that are familiar.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right along the lines of what we were discussing this morning on the question of fascism. Now you have been charged with being a native Fascist.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I don't respect any charge that is made against me by the kind of people that are in that book.

Mr. THOMAS. You may not respect this, but it is a question of fact. We brought out this morning whether or not you had been charged with being a Fascist, and now we have the definite proof that you were charged with being a native Fascist.

Mr. SMITH. I still say that I don't respect any charge that is leveled against me by that outfit. A charge to me, Congressman, under these circumstances would be a charge coming from—if this committee would issue a statement to the effect that their investigations led them to believe that I was a native Fascist, I think that would be a charge that would have to be recognized. Henry Wallace accused practically all American business of being Fascists, you know.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, it certainly has taken a lot of money to publish booklets like this, and I would like to know where all the money comes from to support these fights against you.

Mr. SMITH. That is a thing I would like to know, and that is why I petitioned this committee to investigate the Mobilization for Democracy, which represents 200 left-wing organizations. Then there is a man by the name of ex-Judge Pack who says in his sponsorship of the committee that he represents 200 Jewish organizations.

Mr. ADAMSON. I don't know whether you know the answer to this question, but if you don't, just say so and I won't pursue it any further. All these organizations that you have referred to are engaged in taking up collections from the public. Do they solicit funds publicly?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the Friends of Democracy, so-called, they do jobs on American citizens—for instance, they did a job on Henry Ford; they did a job on Charles Lindbergh.

Mr. ADAMSON. But how do they get their money?

Mr. SMITH. In doing these propaganda jobs they try to demonstrate that America is going Hitler most any minute, and that these Jews should give them a lot of money to save themselves from these alleged Hitlers that they have portrayed. And they do a pretty good job.

Mr. THOMAS. They prey on the fears of the Jewish people themselves?

Mr. SMITH. They do. And may I say this, that I am convinced these so-called gestapo groups are running a financial racket which exploits the apprehensions and the fears of the Jews.

Mr. LANDIS. Would you say they are trying to do a job on General MacArthur?

Mr. SMITH. No; I said they did a job on Mr. Lindbergh.

Mr. LANDIS. I mean trying to do. I am talking about trying to do.

Mr. SMITH. I am not aware of the fact that the Friends of Democracy have made of General MacArthur a project. They have made a project of most every outstanding anti-Communist leader in the country.

Mr. LANDIS. I understand some of the Communist groups have done that.

Mr. SMITH. Oh, yes. As long as the Friends of Democracy deny that they are Communists, I am going to accuse them of playing into the hands of the Communists.

Mr. RANKIN. The Communists fought General Patton, too, to my certain knowledge.

Mr. SMITH. Continuing to answer your question, Mr. Rankin, concerning the attack on Christians, I cite you Dr. Maier as an example—his experience. Then I would like to point out an instance that took place right here in Baltimore. A group of clergymen, outstanding citizens, joined together to form what they called the American Action Committee. It included five priests, three monsignors. It included Rev. Walter Householder, pastor of one of the three largest Protestant churches. Immediately these various organizations brought terrific pressure to bear on these churches, on members of their parishes, and their congregations. One of these clergymen, a man of unimpeachable character, came down to see me yesterday. I told him why I was here. He said that he and two or three of these clergymen, if it became necessary, would be only too happy to appear—in fact, the man that did appear was Dr. Walter Householder—and explain the program of character assassination that had been launched against members of their committee because of their stand against communism.

The third instance that I would like to refer to is the Reverend Father Arthur Terminiello of Birmingham, Ala. He is a graduate of St. Mary's Seminary right here in Baltimore. He told me that when he began to take an open stand on these issues it became almost unsafe for him to travel from his parish house to his church and into the city, and so forth. I have a letter from him to the effect that if it is necessary for him to appear before this committee to recite his experiences—he is a Catholic clergyman—he will be happy to do so.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean, Mr. Smith, that the Communists were making these attacks on him?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, not only the Communists but the Birkhead outfit.

Mr. RANKIN. Is Birkhead a Communist?

Mr. SMITH. Well, you know, he is sort of like Eleanor, sort of like a typhoid carrier, he may not have it, but he carries it. He doesn't join the Communist Party but he is constantly feeding the Communist Party with their sort of good will and strategic talk.

I want to give you this circular as another exhibit. This circular has been used by the Communist Front organizations to prove that, fundamentally, churches and their preachers are Fascists. As you understand, there is a division in Protestantism between those who believe Jesus Christ was divine and those who believe he was the first head of the Communist Party.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean just a line of demarcation between Christians and non-Christians in our churches?

Mr. SMITH. Those who still believe in the Bible and still believe Christ is divine are known as fundamentalists. Here is a brochure designed to prove that fundamentalist preachers are Fascists. For instance this includes—you know Mr. Le Tourneau of, I think it is your State, he manufacturers bulldozers.

The CHAIRMAN. From my State and my district.

Mr. SMITH. Well, he is a Christian; layman, an old-fashioned, amen revival Christian who goes around and speaks to these people. His picture is here. He is one of the native Fascists. You might like to see that.

Mr. ADAMSON. I wish to have this marked as "Exhibit No. 6."

(The brochure referred to was marked "Exhibit 6, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. RANKIN. Referring to what the gentleman from New Jersey said a while ago, about the preacher having been called a "native Fascist" by these Communists, so have I and so have nearly all the other members of this committee.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us develop this thing we have right here a little bit. What churches would be classified under this as fundamentalists?

Mr. SMITH. The largest Baptist Church in Detroit is one.

Mr. THOMAS. Would all the Baptist Church members be fundamentalists?

Mr. SMITH. No, the fundamentalist wing—of course, you understand practically everybody south of the Mason and Dixon line is a Fascist.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not so much interested in south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Mr. SMITH. What I am talking about—you are from New Jersey?

Mr. THOMAS. That's right.

Mr. SMITH. You have a man in your State, over in Camden, I think it is, who is head of the American Council of Christian Churches. I am sorry his name has slipped me. He has recently written a very fine book entitled "The Rise of the Tyrants." The American Council of Christian Churches represents an effort on the part of United Christians to resist what they believe is the left-wing propaganda effort of the so-called Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. He has been branded as a native Fascist.

Mr. THOMAS. Now I want to get to the churches themselves.

Mr. SMITH. McIntyre is the name of the man.

Mr. THOMAS. Would the Episcopal Church in New Jersey be classified as a fundamentalist church?

Mr. SMITH. It is according to which Episcopal church it is. For instance, you have in the Episcopal Church some of the outstanding anti-Communists in the world. On the other hand, you have the Red Dean of London, who is one of the most outstanding and aggressive pro-Communists in the world.

Mr. THOMAS. Take the Episcopal Church in New Jersey, would that be a fundamentalist church?

Mr. SMITH. It is almost as hard to answer that question as if you were to ask me "What is a Democrat?" [Laughter.]

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I could answer that. But what I mean is, is it dependent upon the individual minister in a church, or is it dependent upon the church itself?

Mr. SMITH. It depends on the individual minister. I would say that the bishop of the Methodist Church of the New York area, who has contributed his influence to practically every communist front organization in that zone, represents himself but does not represent the great Methodist Church, because on the other hand, you have a great many Methodist preachers who are highly sensitized to communism—just as Mr. Patterson here, who plays a Communist game in California. Is he a Democrat? Still you can't indict the whole Democratic Party for him, and you can't indict the Republican Party for Marcantonio.

Mr. THOMAS. You have got the thing mixed up. Martantonio is not a Republican. He sits with the New Dealers.

Mr. ADAMSON. He was endorsed by the Republican Party up there.

Mr. LANDIS. He is not a Republican.

Mr. ADAMSON. He ran on the Republican ticket.

Mr. THOMAS. What is this chart here? This is a pretty confused sheet to me.

Mr. SMITH. That sheet is one of the propaganda mechanisms of the so-called Institute of Applied Religion, run by Rev. Claude Williams. Rev. Claude Williams is supposed to be the ideal preacher of the Communist Party. He fraternizes with W. Z. Foster, and he is the man that warns people in the name of Christianity against Christianity. I will present to this committee a book entitled "A Faith to Free the People." I think I have some extra brochures which cites quotations out of this book, from which you can readily grasp the intent. For instance, the book is written to glorify Williams and his theory that Lenin and Jesus were practically the same.

Mr. ADAMSON. Do you know Mr. Williams' political affiliations?

Mr. SMITH. Well, when W. Z. Foster visited Detroit recently to endorse Mr. Frankenstein for mayor—

Mr. RANKIN (interposing). Is that W. Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Mr. Williams was very conspicuous. He was almost on the reception committee. Now, this book which glorifies Williams—still discussing the subject of Christianity and communism—says, for instance, on page 127—

and I do not even know, nor can any of us know whether He (Jesus) ever actually existed. I do not care whether He is fact or myth.

Mr. Williams was grateful for the support of the Communist Party. Page 141:

After reading Lenin's State and Revolution and Imperialism he (Claude Williams) found his views taking even firmer and clearer shape. He was inspired by Lenin, like the faith of Jesus.

Here is an instance where he cites two young people brought before him, and the young lady was in a delicate state, and they were unmarried, and he married the pair and set the license date back on the certificate, and told them that when the commandment against adultery was given it was impossible for man and woman to have relations without involving society; it was before the time of scientific birth control. Now, with scientific birth control, said Reverend Williams, the act is neither immoral nor unmoral. This book is being put out in Christian Endeavor Societies and Baptist Young People's Unions, or any place that the preacher is either sleepy enough or deliberately pink to permit it. I would like to present this book to the committee as an exhibit.

Now, when you read in the paper that a minister led the picket line against my meeting in Detroit, that is the minister that led the picket line.

Mr. ADAMSON. Williams?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; Williams.

Mr. ADAMSON. Is Williams his real name?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. He was originally in Arkansas, where he was advocating intermarriage of blacks and whites. In this book he tells about what a big thrill he had the first night he slept with a Negro

woman, and how we must all be willing to do that. The Arkansas people didn't like that sort of philosophy, and he moved to Detroit.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean the Negroes didn't like that?

Mr. SMITH. I don't think they did. I don't think he represents the great Christian Negro population.

Mr. RANKIN. I mean the Negro that he was insulting with his presence. It is no compliment to a Negro for a man of that kind to sleep with him, or eat with him.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to file an exhibit here—I think I will postpone that just a moment. Do you want this exhibit?

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Now, I go on concerning Los Angeles. Everything in this statement concerning Los Angeles is an understatement of what really happened out there. The chief of police will tell you that it was necessary in order to preserve order against the Communists to call out the largest police detail in the history of the city.

I point out, gentlemen, that at no time has the Catholic Church or the fundamentalist branch of the Protestant Church offered any opposition to my meetings. When anyone tells you that I am anti-Catholic, he introduced that only in an attempt to disturb people with dishonesty, and I speak not only frequently with priests, but I speak frequently in Catholic properties. When I speak in Baltimore I speak in the Alcazar Auditorium, owned by the Knights of Columbus.

Mr. THOMAS. A moment ago you mentioned the fundamentalist branch of the Protestant Church, but back a little ways you stated that what you meant by the "fundamentalist branch" was individual ministers, not a branch of the church. How do you reconcile that statement with this one here?

Mr. SMITH. I would say, Mr. Thomas, there is no desire on my part to hedge, but it would require a rather lengthy discussion of the history of the contemporary Protestant Church to give you the proper answer to your question.

Mr. THOMAS. But it is true that you do not actually refer to a branch of the church? You refer to individual ministers of the church?

Mr. SMITH. You might say fundamentalist elements, but there are groups—for instance, there is such a thing as the fundamentalist Baptist Church. There is such a thing as the fundamentalist Presbyterian Church. There is such a thing as the fundamentalist Methodist Church.

Mr. RANKIN. As a matter of fact, any man or woman who believes in the fundamental principles believes in the doctrine of the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, or the Presbyterian Church, is a fundamentalist?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. And the nonbelievers, the imposters, they use the church as a cloak, but they don't believe its teachings.

Mr. SMITH. In many instances they have presumed on and captured the bureaucracy of their sect quite as certain Reds have captured the bureaucracy of the two old parties in certain communities.

In one of my recent meetings in Detroit it was announced that I would be picketed, and the picket line would be led by a preacher. I discussed that; I won't bore the committee by reading the formal statements. I will file with your committee a brochure on Williams

and merely cite passages in this book, pages in the book indicating the philosophy of the so-called applied religion.

Mr. RANKIN. There is a question right there far more vital than Williams as an individual. The information that has come to us is that there is a certain element, largely under control of the moving-picture industry in Hollywood, Calif., that is subversive.

Mr. SMITH. I did not get that, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. The charge has been made that a certain element, largely under control of the moving-picture industry in Hollywood, is using it to spread communism and to destroy the morals, I will say, of America; and I should like for you, if you know anything about it, to discuss that; because this committee has been called on to investigate it, and from the side-line interferences we are receiving from that immediate community, especially from Members of Congress and left-wingers generally, it has indicated to me that there is one subject that this committee is going to have to go into.

Mr. THOMAS. We have already made a preliminary investigation, but we haven't done anything about it.

Mr. RANKIN. I understand that. I just wanted to know if the witness has any information on that subject, and if that had anything to do with these interferences and with these disturbance out there.

Mr. SMITH. When I first went to California, the naive and uninitiated just assumed that the smear stories that went out ahead of me were true. Then, when these people began to demonstrate and speak to five, ten, fifteen thousand people, and responsible citizens recognized in the leaders of these demonstrations the most notorious Communists in the State, they found that they enjoyed the financial cooperation of some of the most influential and highly paid personalities in Hollywood. Would you like me to give you four or five instances?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. I am not going to speculate. I am going to give you illustrations that have come within the circumference of my own personal experience.

The man who led the campaign before the school board to deny me the right of free speech, in cooperation with this Mobilization for Democracy, which Senator Tenney says is definitely controlled by the Communist Party—the man who led the campaign was Mr. Eddie Cantor.

Before I spoke, the Communist element organized a high school strike. They went out with a loudspeaker appealed to the children of the Roosevelt High School to jump over the fence, desert the school, and picket the school board. They came down and picketed the school board, deserted the school, and I point out, gentlemen, that before I spoke in that schoolhouse I appeared before the school board of Los Angeles and my enemies had twice before brought in everything they could think of against me, and when all the facts were in—and it was a very expensive hearing both times—the school board unanimously agreed to permit me to use the high school auditorium.

Some 500 of these children were suspended. Then the superintendent called them in and said to their parents that if they would sign a statement agreeing to try to prevent the repetition of such things they would remove the suspension; 92 refused. They were expelled.

Shortly after that the Youth for Democracy, which is the successor of the Young Communist League, held a banquet at the Ambassador Hotel.

Mr. ADAMSON. Is that the American Youth?

Mr. SMITH. The American Youth for Democracy, successor to the Young Communist League. The most conspicuous personality used in advertising this meeting was the much-publicized crooner, Frank Sinatra. Then Sinatra entered into a campaign to exonerate these children who had been the leaders in this organization for truancy.

At this same meeting the much-publicized movie star, Ingrid Bergman, appeared and spoke. At this banquet were the most outstanding Communists of the State.

The semiofficial night-life publication of Hollywood, called Hollywood Nite-Life, the current issue, January 18, carries a front-page editorial entitled "The Unholy Three—Smith, Tenney, Rankin." I would like to give you that.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that Tenney, of the State senate of California?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You wouldn't say Frank Sinatra was a Communist, would you?

Mr. SMITH. He may not be that intelligently, but he certainly is being used by the Communist Party, because when you take a man that is publicized as he is, and then direct the spotlight that leads right to a Young Communist banquet, you overtake millions of young people unprepared for that sort of persuasion and lead them to believe that communism is respectable.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say he was sort of a Mrs. Roosevelt in pants? [Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Well, I would not want to represent myself as an authority on that, but I would say this, Congressman—that I am convinced that Frank Sinatra is not a naive dupe. He has been appearing recently and frequently in meetings known to be set up by the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. He and I live in the same county in New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. Well, of course, you must consider the Sinatra vote. I don't think they are for you.

Mr. THOMAS. No; but he comes from my district.

Mr. ADAMSON. I want to offer this pamphlet, Mr. Chairman. I ask that it be marked for the record.

(The magazine Hollywood Nite-Life, January 18, 1946, was marked "Exhibit 8, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. RANKIN. I see in here it says that "Committeeman Rankin is heading for this city," speaking of Los Angeles. I have never headed in that direction as a member of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. They are afraid you will come.

Mr. SMITH. I respectfully petition this committee to subpoena such witnesses as are necessary to expose these organized campaigns of terror, coercion, intimidation, in order that the truth concerning their activities may be established.

May I say, along with this Hollywood situation, that Orson Welles, who is expecting to run for the United States Senate on the Democratic ticket in California, is not only a Communist Party liner but he stuck with Stalin when Stalin and Hitler were in bed together.

Remember that. Welles was one of the leaders of this Mobilization for Democracy. The people who had been deceived by the propaganda against my activities began to wake up when they discovered that the same people promoting the bloody riots at the radio studios were the ones that had been roving around in front with my enemies.

There is a cabal in California which includes Congressman Patterson, Helen Gahagan, Orson Welles, Frank Sinatra, Ingrid Bergman, that are playing with Stalin's first line.

Mr. RANKIN. Whom do you call Helen Gahagan?

Mr. SMITH. Helen Gahagan Douglas, the Congresswoman from California.

Feeding on the misinformation and character assassination material which the organizations named in this statement supply is the Nation's most notorious character assassin, Walter Winchell. He has used the radio networks for character assassination on such numerous occasions that it would be trite and a waste of time to enumerate any number of them, but I give you one illustration to demonstrate how helpless the rank-and-file citizen is in the presence of such character assassination.

In May 1943 I spoke in Buffalo, N. Y. I was introduced by the president of the Buffalo Economics League, and the opening prayer was delivered by Monsignor O'Brien, pastor of the city's largest Catholic church. Other clergymen, Protestant and Catholic, occupied the platform, and the audience was a typical Christian American audience. Imagine my amazement a week later when I heard Walter Winchell say over the radio that on a certain Sunday night—naming the exact date of the meeting—Gerald L. K. Smith, the rabble rouser, jumped on an American flag and spit on it at a meeting of his followers in Buffalo.

Mr. THOMAS. Why didn't you sue Winchell for libel?

Mr. SMITH. In the first place, to bring suit against Winchell you have to process him in New York City. That is the first thing.

In the second place, the dockets are so full that it takes from 2 to 3 years to get to it. I did bring suit against the local outlet, the station, and when it came time to—we had to ask for two postponements, and when it came to the third request for postponement, which was due to a case we have before the Supreme Court of California, we had to choose between asking for a postponement of that case and the continuance of our appeal before the Supreme Court of California for the use of the San Francisco High School, and the case was dismissed without prejudice.

There are numerous people; gentlemen, in this country who are defenseless victims of this character assassin. How long will we endure this crucifixion? My young son, who since that time has established himself as a military hero, with the Purple Heart and numerous other medals, was at that time in camp in Texas.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that statement true, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Of course not, but even to deny it almost honors the libel.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it a lie?

Mr. SMITH. Positively a lie. And not only was it a lie, but we presented to the Blue Network—it then was—the denial on KDKA, signed by Monsignor O'Brien, pastor of the city's largest Catholic

Church, who said he was on the platform when Mr. Smith spoke; Father Ansett introduced me; Mr. Stauffer was chairman of the meeting; and all three of those men signed a statement that nothing approaching this took place.

To permit an irresponsible character assassin like Walter Winchell to use the radio is as un-American as to permit a public figure to be flogged in public without legal charges. This same man is now practicing his art on this committee and certainly has done enough to expose his true nature.

I challenge this committee to investigate Walter Winchell. I think a thorough and courageous investigation would establish that he is a deliberate part of a conspiracy to destroy and assassinate the character of any individual who dares invade or question the authority of the left-wing cabal.

As the records will reveal, we operate as a political committee and make regular and lawful reports under the Corrupt Practices Act, as required by law.

I have in my files a brochure put out by this so-called Friends of Democracy entitled "Pattern for Revolution." This has to do with the Congress of the United States, and I want to leave this with you. I only have one copy here. I want to comment just a word here. This is entitled "Pattern for Revolution. A Report by the Friends of Democracy." Then here is a distorted picture of myself, then the heading, "A report to Americans. The amazing history of Gerald L. K. Smith." Then here are the strange associates of Gerald L. K. Smith. These include some of your good colleagues in Congress, Burton K. Wheeler; ex-Senator Gerald P. Nye; Robert Reynolds; Senator David I. Walsh, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate; Clare Hoffman; ex-Congressman Stephen Day; Congressman Martin Sweeney; Congressman Roy Woodruff, senior member of the delegation from Michigan.

Mr. RANKIN. And let me interpose to say he served in the Spanish-American War and the World War.

Mr. LANDIS. What is that publication?

Mr. SMITH. This is a brochure entitled "Pattern for Revolution," put out by the Friends of Democracy. This was put out during election year against men who were running for Congress. Why wasn't this outfit compelled to report under the Corrupt Practices Act?

Mr. PETERSON. Roy Woodruff is one of the finest men I have ever known.

Mr. SMITH. And he is classified as a Fascist. He is one of the strange associates of Gerald L. K. Smith, according to this brochure. Then they go on down here with their vilifications. I would like to leave that with you as a sample.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be marked in the record in connection with the testimony of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number?

Mr. ADAMSON. No. 8.

The CHAIRMAN. It is admitted.

(The brochure entitled "Pattern for Revolution" was marked "Exhibit 8 A, Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. This one brochure, referring to the one I have just given you, which is indeed an expensive set-up, levels a political attack during election year. You will observe, gentlemen, that there are numerous Congressmen listed, and I regret to confess that I believe the attacks made on these men by the above-named organizations were instrumental in their defeat, while a thorough investigation and disclosure of their activities, including the sources of their revenue, would have been sufficient to protect these ex-Members of Congress against the attacks made upon them.

I petition this committee of Congress to investigate the activities of Frank Sinatra, who, on the surface, seems to be just a highly paid emaciated crooner but who recently gave support to a meeting of the American Youth for Democracy which held an elaborate banquet at the Hotel Ambassador in Los Angeles, and which organization was recently branded by J. Edgar Hoover as the successor to the Young Communist League as one of the most dangerous outfits in the Nation.

I challenge this committee to investigate Mr. Eddie Cantor, who is alleged to have financed highly the activities of the Mobilization for Democracy which Senator Tenney of California has now established as being an out-and-out Communist outfit.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you know whether Eddie Cantor is financially interested in the Communist publication called "Reader's Scope?"

Mr. SMITH. I am not a competent witness to answer that question. Reader's Scope obviously follows the left wing line.

Mr. LANDIS. Do you believe they are Communists, or they are victims of circumstances?

Mr. SMITH. I am not going to exaggerate their naivete, and I am not going to excuse them on the grounds of stupidity. Frank Sinatra has been doing some pretty clever stuff for the Reds, and I think it is too clever to be naive. So has Ingrid Bergman, and so has Eddie Cantor, and so has Orson Welles. Of course, Orson Welles is just a studied, deliberate fellow traveler. He knows exactly what he is doing. He is a shrewd boy.

Mr. THOMAS. I know Ingrid Bergman. What proof have you got that Ingrid Bergman gave financial assistance to the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. SMITH. On the 16th of December she was one of the chief participants in their big banquet at the Ambassador Hotel. In other words, she was not just a person that attended; she was one of the topnotchers in the program, and she made the presentation speech for one of the medals.

Mr. THOMAS. But that hasn't got anything to do with the financial assistance. You say here that she gave financial assistance.

Mr. SMITH. Which paragraph is that?

Mr. THOMAS. Under "Ingrid Bergman" you say this:

I challenge this committee to question the highly publicized movie star Ingrid Bergman, whom the Communist papers on the west coast, as well as the metropolitan press publicized as having given her moral and financial support to the American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. SMITH. I mean just that. And the papers can be supplied.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see in the newspapers that she gave financial support to American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. SMITH. I am sure I did.

Mr. THOMAS. Then I would like to have you submit to our chief counsel that information.

Mr. SMITH. I will be glad to give you such information.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not a great admirer of Frank Sinatra, but I admire Ingrid Bergman.

Mr. SMITH. Well, I am sure many people do, and may I say that makes her collaboration with Communists more dangerous than some of the other people you have mentioned.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not from Missouri, but I want to be shown in this particular case.

Mr. SMITH. I will be only too happy to furnish the information. I will say this, that even members of my own staff hesitated to accept this information, but I may say that that is the thing that demonstrates the insidious nature of the exploitation of Hollywood for the purpose of promoting Communist propaganda. When one of your favorite stars, Congressman, can give aid and comfort to what Mr. J. Edgar Hoover said less than a month ago was the most dangerous organization in America, then it is serious.

Mr. THOMAS. But have you got anything in your records to show that she gave financial aid to this Communist outfit?

Mr. SMITH. I would say this, Congressman, that when the People's Daily World, the official Communist paper for the west coast, portrays her as a speaker and collaborator and as a coordinator, and says that she is one of the chief helpers of the movement financially and otherwise, I am bound to believe it is likely to be true.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you get that copy of the People's Daily World and give it to our counsel?

Mr. SMITH. I wired the star and asked her to deny that she did.

Mr. THOMAS. Never mind that. Get that copy of the People's World and give it to our counsel.

Mr. SMITH. I will be glad to do that. In fact, I will be glad to write Mr. Tenney and ask him to prepare a folder for you.

Mr. THOMAS. Never mind Mr. Tenney. I want to see the People's World.

Mr. RANKIN. The Constitution describes treason as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. It doesn't say you have to give them financial aid, just aid and comfort, and if you will remember, the ones that we convicted had not given any financial aid to the enemy, but had given them aid and comfort of other kinds.

Mr. THOMAS. That is very true, but here is a statement made by the witness that she gave financial aid. If she did not give financial aid, then we want to correct that part of the witness' testimony.

Mr. SMITH. I will settle that technically right now, so that there will be no libel, and then I will amplify it to your satisfaction. The tickets cost \$2 to \$3 apiece, and anybody that will pay \$3 to eat with the Reds has given financial support.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I have noticed that some people go into some of these Communist meetings and Fascist meetings and Nazi meetings and paid \$3 and went in there just to find out what was going on.

Mr. SMITH. The chief speaker doesn't do that.

Mr. THOMAS. My judgment is that the speaker at any meeting doesn't buy a ticket.

Mr. RANKIN. You consider the Communists as enemies of this country, do you not?

Mr. THOMAS. There is no question about that.

Mr. RANKIN. Their scheme is to overthrow this Government and destroy American institutions. Now, anybody who gets up and makes a speech in favor of a Communist outfit and attends meetings with the chief Communists, I don't see how you can question his affiliation or his sympathies at least.

Mr. THOMAS. I am not trying to defend Ingrid Bergman or any other people, but I think it is a bad practice for this committee to—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I think you and Mr. Rankin ought to settle your personal differences outside of the committee room.

Mr. THOMAS. This is a matter for the committee, not a personal matter. I think it is a bad practice, and one of the things that the old Dies committee was charged with, and charged very severely many times, was to have a witness come before the committee and brand John Jones and Bill Smith and a whole list of people as being Communists or Fascists or something else. Now, if any witness comes in and says "This person gave financial aid to the Communist Party," we ought to have the proof that that person gave that financial aid.

Mr. RANKIN. I am not so interested in the giving of financial aid as in giving aid and comfort at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness has stated he will supply the information.

Mr. RANKIN. To be perfectly frank with you, we are getting right down to the milk in the coconut. We know that the enemies, the organized enemies of this country, are the Communist Party and the fellow travelers, whether they are in or out of Congress, and if these people, these organizations, are giving aid and comfort to the Communists in an endeavor to destroy this Government, we want to know it.

Mr. THOMAS. I am just trying to protect this committee, just like we had to protect the old committee.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say this, Congressman, that I think your request is very reasonable, and I will be only too happy to comply with it.

Mr. SMITH. Another exhibit I would like to offer here is a letter written by Mr. Upton Close, which appears in my magazine—our magazine—in the month of October, which discusses at length the technique being employed to raise, on the part of these so-called Jewish organizations, \$4,000,000 to run down their critics. I would like to file a copy of the Cross and the Flag and call your attention to the back page, which contains the letter by Upton Close. No one can accuse Mr. Close of being an anti-Semite, but in this letter to Nathan L. Ohrbach, president, Ohrbach's, Inc., national chairman for the 1945 joint defense appeal campaign for \$4,000,000, he warns Mr. Ohrbach that a campaign for \$4,000,000 to be used to run down critics and harass people who are alleged to be anti-Semitic will not stop anti-Semitism but will increase it. I would like to file that as an exhibit.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that is an article written by Mr. Upton Close, published in the October issue, 1945.

Mr. ADAMSON. Yes, sir. This is volume 4, No. 7, the Cross and the Flag for October 1945. I ask that this be marked "Exhibit No. 9."

(The Cross and the Flag for October 1945 was marked "Exhibit 9, Gerald K. Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. I have a very unique picture that I would like to file here with the committee. These are some pictures taken in Detroit of a riot promoted outside of my meeting by the Communists. They didn't riot against our people because our people were inside, but they rioted against the police. Some of them were struck and others were not struck. In this picture is a man by the name of Mazey, one of the leading agitators.

Mr. ADAMSON. Spell that name.

Mr. SMITH. M-a-z-e-y. This man—you will remember some days ago a man was accused of agitating an approach to mutiny in the Philippines, a man named Mazey.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean among servicemen?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Mazey is one of the old-time left-wing agitators.

Mr. THOMAS. It took place just the other day?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Now, this is a brother that was one of these rioters.

Mr. ADAMSON. I ask that this sheet be marked as "Exhibit No. 10." There are three cuts shown on this exhibit, and the cut that you refer to is showing the brother of this Mazey that you are talking about is the one on the left-hand side and lower corner? Is that right?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; the one that shows his teeth there.

Mr. ADAMSON. He is looking right straight out.

(The sheet referred to, showing pictures taken at a meeting in Detroit, Mich., was marked "Exhibit 10, Gerald K. Smith.")

Mr. PETERSON. What is the full name of this man?

Mr. SMITH. I don't know his first name.

Mr. ADAMSON. It think the man in the Philippines that Mr. Smith referred to, his first name is Amos.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; his name is Amos.

I petition this committee to introduce and seek the passage of such legislation as will require members of the Communist Party to register with the State Department as foreign agents. I make this recommendation on the grounds that in every instance where the facts are available, disciplined members of the Communist Party are governed by the desires and will of the Moscow government over and above the Government of the United States. In every instance wherever the policy of the Moscow government has run contrary to the policy of the United States Government, Communists invariably follow the Moscow line, proving that they are subservient first to Moscow. Why should not the members of the Communist Party, as long as they are going to be subservient to Moscow, first be compelled to register with the State Department as foreign agents?

I challenge this committee to thoroughly investigate the Friends of Democracy, the Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League, and the Anti-Defamation League.

The next paragraph in my statement refers to Rev. Walter A. Maier, and I don't think there is any need of my repeating that paragraph.

I do want to refer to a situation that developed in Philadelphia last year. A group of mothers who called themselves "Blue Star Mothers,"

arranged for a meeting which was supposed to have been addressed by myself. The management of the meeting hall began to get telephone calls, and one of those calls said, "We represent the FBI, and you must not allow this man to speak in the hall." So he wrote the Blue Star Mothers and said, "I have been advised by the Federal Bureau of Investigation not to permit this meeting to go on." They sent me the letter and I sent a copy to J. Edgar Hoover and told him I was sure that his department had not indulged in any such practices, but that if anyone was impersonating the FBI they should be exposed, and Mr. Hoover wrote me last April this very fine letter which I would like to enter as an exhibit.

Mr. RANKIN. Suppose you read it. That is from the FBI?

Mr. ADAMSON. I will read it. This is on the letterhead of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, John Edgar Hoover, Director, dated April 26, 1945, to:

Mr. GERALD K. SMITH,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letters dated April 18 and 19, 1945, with enclosures. You may be assured that the assumptions set forth in your letter of April 18 are correct, that is, no representative of this Bureau has at any time attempted to coerce the management of any building to prevent your speaking in Philadelphia or engage in any activities designed to deny an American citizen his civil liberties.

I appreciate your bringing this matter to my attention, so that you will have no question concerning the policy of the FBI.

Very truly yours,

J. E. HOOVER, *Director.*

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, Mr. Smith, has the American Civil Liberties Union ever come to your attention?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. By the way, I would like to file an exhibit. The American Civil Liberties Union—no one can accuse this organization of being ideologically in agreement with me. In fact, it has been considered for years as a left-wing organization. The American Civil Liberties Union for California, as a matter of policy decided to defend my right to speak in the high-school auditoriums of that State. Dr. Clinton Taft, who has been the head of that organization for the last 20 years, was commissioned to make a complete survey of my whole activity, every speech background, interviewing my friends and foes, and in the current issue of the Cross and the Flag for January 1946, there is carried a signed statement by Dr. Taft on this matter.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the purport of that statement, or the conclusion?

Mr. SMITH. The conclusions are so generous and complimentary that I would hesitate to repeat them orally. I would rather file it here.

Mr. RANKIN. Who is Dr. Taft?

Mr. SMITH. He is a Congregational clergyman who, for 20 years, has been head of the Civil Liberties Union of the State of California.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he then head of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. SMITH. Yes. And he is so honored that he has been made president emeritus on retirement, which has been only the last week.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, there is an article on page 693 of the Cross and the Flag for January 1946, volume 4, No. 10, entitled "A tribute to Gerald L. K. Smith, by Dr. Clinton J. Taft." I ask that this be marked "Exhibit No. 11."

(The Cross and the Flag for January 1946, was marked "Exhibit 11—Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. THOMAS. Did the American Civil Liberties Union take any official action?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; not only did they take official action, but their attorneys appeared with my attorneys before the Supreme Court of the State of California. They furnished the research and did the research necessary to carry through this case.

I would like to also file here an article entitled "Moscow versus Gerald L. K. Smith. Lynch-mob methods employed by California Reds failed to stop dynamic crusade by Rev. Jonathan E. Perkins in collaboration with Rev. Wesley A. Swift." That is a summary of some of our experiences, by two ministers.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Chairman, this is an article appearing on pages 614 and 615 of the August 1945, issue of the Cross and the Flag, volume 4, No. 5. I ask that this be marked "Exhibit No. 12."

(The Cross and the Flag for August 1945 was marked "Exhibit 12—Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. Here is a copy of a telegram I sent to Miss Bergman, and I think I sent a copy to this committee.

Mr. ADAMSON. What is the date of it?

Mr. SMITH. January 12, 1946:

It is reported that on December 16 you participated in a program held under the auspices of the American Union for Democracy at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, together with Frank Sinatra and others. About the same time J. Edgar Hoover, speaking before the Catholic Youth Organization of New York City, asserted this organization was a successor to the Young Communist League and was positively organizing a campaign to undermine our American Government. Did you appear at this banquet with an intelligent understanding of its sponsorship, or were you the innocent victim of a slick program committee? A copy of this telegram has been forwarded to the congressional Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, and to J. Edgar Hoover.

I received no reply or recognition to that.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of the committee and for myself I want to be recorded here to show that some of these people that we speak of, Miss Bergman, Eddie Cantor, Walter Winchell, Frank Sinatra, might be innocent victims of circumstances. They have been asked, no doubt, to appear at a lot of gatherings, and our committee must have the exact proof. I want my statement in the record.

Mr. SMITH. May I say this, gentlemen of the committee, that if the committee finds it practicable to sit in California and question these rich Reds who populate the Beverley Hills area, you will recall my testimony as an example of understatement.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, let me ask you concerning the rich people. You mentioned here a war-chest fund of \$4,000,000. It is inconceivable to me that you could go out and collect \$4,000,000 so readily for these purposes, and I would like to hear from you, if you have anything to say, on the methods by which they obtain this great financial support.

Mr. SMITH. The \$4,000,000 fund is the one referred to by Mr. Close in his letter. The \$4,000,000 is not allegedly raised to promote communism; it is raised by Jewish organizations to stop anti-Semitism. I offered that exhibit apropos to what I called privately financed ges-

tapo organizations, as obnoxious, gentlemen, as anti-Semitism is, and I think any man who establishes in his heart a blanket hate for a race or creed or color merely because of the creed or the race or the color has violated Christianity and Americanism, but it is still my right to criticize you or you or you, or the rabbi or the Methodist preacher, and if I do criticize the rabbi or the Methodist preacher or the Governor of the State, or the town counselor, nobody has the right to put me in a little black book and gestapo me for the rest of my life. I assert that this is being practiced by these organizations for which these funds are being raised, and it is un-American and it is criminal.

I offer here an exhibit put out by a young man by the name of Frederick Kister, a veteran of this war who merely introduced me at a meeting in Chicago. That is all. He was waited on by a Mr. Fishbein, editor of the Jewish Sentinel, and also connected with these organizations, and told that if he did not fire this boy they would organize a boycott. The manager of the company called the boy in, a veteran of this war, and said: "Fred, you are one of the best men we have got. Your work is satisfactory. You are fired." And he told him exactly why. He said "We cannot resist the pressure of these organized Jews." Now, that is wrong. There is the statement; there is the testimony of this young man.

Mr. RANKIN. Did he make that statement?

Mr. SMITH. He makes the statement, and he is willing to testify before this committee and support what I have said.

Mr. ADAMSON. I offer this for the record as "Exhibit No. 13."

(The folder entitled "Christian Veterans Awaken" was marked "Exhibit 13—Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. THOMAS. What was the name of that company?

Mr. SMITH. It is in the brochure here. He was next called into the office of Mr. Eddy. This was an automobile finance company, the Commercial Credit Corp. of Chicago, one of the biggest outfits. The man that fired him even told him, "I am going to try not to have to fire you, but please don't work after dark. No matter how short the days are, go home in the daytime." Then he moved him out into the office on the north side, hoping it would be a little safer.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the national company that finances the purchases of all kinds of appliances for automobiles?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, are you familiar at all with the solicitation methods of these organizations that you have referred to, that is, solicitation for funds?

Mr. SMITH. I think I am somewhat familiar, but I would not want to be quoted as an authority.

Mr. ADAMSON. Do they claim—in that solicitation do they claim the privilege for the donor being able to deduct the donation from his income tax?

Mr. SMITH. They do. I have here the official periodical of the Friends of Democracy. That is one organization, one outfit. For instance, I will give you this. This is very significant. The project of their current issue is to prove that Harold Knutson is a Fascist, Congressman Harold Knutson. I call your attention to this box on page 3—and you can identify the exhibit if you want to when I hand it to you.

In a box on the front page here:

Friends of Democracy, Inc., is a nonsectarian, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization founded in Kansas City, Mo. Since 1937 it has been exposing subversive movements in this country, and its files on un-American activities, built over a period of 8 years, are among the most nearly complete in the United States. It is supported by the voluntary contributions of its numerous friends throughout the country. The propaganda battle front is only one of the many functions of the organization.

I will try to find it here, but I am sure it says that contributions are deductible from income taxes.

The supreme practice of this program of character assassination is demonstrated by the fact that it devotes one whole page to proving that Harold Knutson, a colleague of yours in the Congress of the United States, is a Fascist, or by innuendo, a dangerous citizen.

Mr. THOMAS. One of the oldest Members in the House.

Mr. SMITH. One of the oldest and most respected Members of the House.

Mr. ADAMSON. I also note here, Mr. Smith, on another page a report on Harvey H. Springer. Who is he?

Mr. SMITH. He is the pastor of the largest Baptist church in Denver?

Mr. ADAMSON. Is that a similar report on him?

Mr. SMITH. Well, he is a very dangerous man. He allowed me to speak in his pulpit. That finished him.

Mr. ADAMSON. I ask that this be marked "Exhibit No. 14." It is a little brochure entitled "The Propaganda Battle Front," dated December 31, 1945, volume 3, No. 24, published by the Friends of Democracy.

(The brochure entitled "The Propaganda Battle Front" of December 31, 1945, was marked "Exhibit 14—Gerald L. K. Smith.")

Mr. SMITH. Here is another one of your friends. Here is another job, a report on Robert F. Rich, Congressman.

Mr. ADAMSON. From Pennsylvania.

Mr. SMITH. A good Republican, isn't he, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes. You are reading now from what kind of a document?

Mr. SMITH. This goes out to all the newspaper editors and expressers of opinion in the United States, sent out by the Friends of Democracy. I think they also did a job on Paul Shafer.

Mr. PETERSON. What do they claim Bob Rich is?

Mr. SMITH. He is a Fascist, a potential Fascist, a friend of Fascists. So is Jessie Sumner.

Mr. ADAMSON. Mr. Smith, do you mean to tell the committee that this organization solicits money publicly, and that those donations are deductible from the income-tax returns of the donor?

Mr. SMITH. I am convinced that that is the case.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, in view of that statement I think this matter should be referred by counsel to the collector of internal revenue.

Mr. ADAMSON. To the Commissioner of Internal Revenue?

Mr. THOMAS. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask counsel if he has any information on that subject as to the Friends of Democracy.

Mr. ADAMSON. I believe they are on what they call the B list, organizations that are granted this privilege. There are quite a number, by the way.

Mr. PETERSON. An eleemosynary institution?

Mr. ADAMSON. They claim to be educational or benevolent.

Mr. THOMAS. This is something we can take definite action on right now, and I move that the chairman authorize counsel to refer this whole matter to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to amend that motion to call on the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to furnish us with the information as to whether or not they are on the approved list.

Mr. THOMAS. I will accept that amendment.

Mr. LANDIS. I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. All those in favor of the motion say "aye"; opposed "no."

(The motion was put and carried.)

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is carried.

Mr. ADAMSON. Very good, sir; I will take that action.

Mr. SMITH. You will observe, Mr. Chairman, that in these sheets called The propaganda battle front there is an attack on Congressman Paul W. Shafer as a potential Fascist or friend of Fascists or as a Fascist. The same on Congressman Rich, the same on Congresswoman Jessie Sumner, of Illinois. Now, why should not an organization seeking to defeat a Congressman for reelection report to the Clerk of the House of Representatives under the Corrupt Practices Act? If I should come into your district and spend money to retire you from Congress, wouldn't I come under that act, or am I misinformed?

Mr. THOMAS. I am no lawyer; but you come under the act because you are the head of a party called the America First Party, which is, as you say yourself, a political party.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, Mr. Counselor, I understand that there is an application pending before the Commissioner of Internal Revenue by the Political Action Committee of the CIO seeking such an exemption, and I will direct the counsel of this committee to ascertain whether or not that is true.

Mr. ADAMSON. Very well, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. We might as well have a show-down on all of these organizations.

Mr. ADAMSON. Very good, sir; I will do it.

Mr. SMITH. I challenge this committee to investigate those who attempted to break up a meeting recently organized by the friends of Frank Fay, the Christian actor, who organized a rally at Madison Square Garden for the purpose of defending Christianity. I don't know whether you are familiar with the experience in this respect.

I challenge this committee to investigate the increasing number of instances where Communists are picketing preachers and churches.

I challenge this committee to investigate the so-called War Writers Board, headed by Rex Stout. This board has posed as being an official voice of the Government and has been used to smear and abuse numerous good Americans.

Mr. THOMAS. The full committee did that. We investigated them.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to give this committee an exhibit, if you want it—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Pardon me just a minute—the committee will have to adjourn in 10 minutes.

Mr. SMITH. Very well. Just for the record I would like to read this one closing paragraph:

I challenge this committee to investigate all departments of the armed services where orientation and reorientation is taking place. In connection with this, I would advise that they make a careful study where books have been taken out of libraries because they were anti-Communist and other books put in because they were pro-Communist.

To illustrate: I can furnish witnesses and affidavits to establish the fact that in a certain Army camp a reorientation instructor indulged in lengthy discourses praising the system of government in Russia, and then wound up his discourse by warning the soldiers against American Fascists such as William Randolph Hearst, John E. Rankin, Gerald L. K. Smith, and so forth. Those who have given me the facts concerning this particular incident tell me that innocent boys are sent out of that camp believing that they should fight Mr. Hearst, Mr. Rankin, and others just as they have been fighting the Japs and the Germans.

Mr. THOMAS. On that question of books, I think the committee likewise should get in touch with the Congressional Library and get the names of all the books stolen from the Congressional Library. There was an article in the press a few days ago which resulted in the arrest of an employee of the Congressional Library.

Mr. ADAMSON. I will look into that, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Four hundred books were stolen.

Mr. SMITH. I have an exact copy of an affidavit that was prepared by a young soldier who heard this reorientation officer warn them against the dangerous Fascists, and put Mr. Hearst and Mr. Rankin and other leading anti-Communists in the same class with the Japs and the Germans and tell those boys: "Now, we have won just one phase of the war. These are the next ones to get."

Mr. PETERSON. An officer of the United States Army?

Mr. SMITH. A lieutenant.

Mr. PETERSON. Speaking to men in the armed forces?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; boys that are getting ready to be sent home, so they will be in good condition to fight this committee and other people who are interested in fighting Communists.

To save this boy any embarrassment I have left his name out, but he is willing to appear, and I can furnish the original if you desire.

Mr. ADAMSON. Will you have that boy get in touch with this committee, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I certainly will.

Mr. ADAMSON. So we may talk to him first hand.

Mr. THOMAS. And soon, because that is a very active subject right now.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Smith, you think it is getting so bad that we have to have organizations to defend Christianity?

Mr. SMITH. I think we need to—many of our good Christian leaders have been so absorbed with their pastoral duties that they are unaware of the chicanery of these people who are basically anti-Christian. There is developing an increasing understanding—for instance it is not uncommon for young Communist leaders to bore their way into a young people's society and have it taken over without the preacher even knowing that it happened. He is busy. He has got other things to do. He has got a Sunday night sermon to preach; he has got his footwork; he is not adjusted to the kind of skullduggery that these Reds promote all the time.

Mr. LANDIS. The statement made by J. Edgar Hoover proves that the situation is critical.

Mr. SMITH. Yes; and I think Mr. Hoover's speech before the Catholic Youth Society of New York City is going to cause him the most vicious opposition that he has had here in Washington, D. C., and I am convinced that there is a move on foot to unseat him.

Now, in closing, I say to you, gentlemen of the committee, that my experience is almost a complete example of how a man sincerely seeking to fight communism can be smeared to the saturation point, even though I come from a family of four generations of clergymen. In our family on either side there has never been an indictment, a conviction, an imprisonment, or any legal accusation, or crime or law violation. How phenomenal it is that you have been able to read the accusations you have read against me, and I have never been called before a grand jury, because there wasn't even the preliminary information on which they could find an excuse to call me.

Mr. ADAMSON. Walter Winchell accused you of spitting on the flag, and that is a crime.

Mr. SMITH. Well, any free American would take care of anybody that did that, and on the spot. My son, Gerald Smith, Jr., volunteered for a suicide engagement, fought in this war nearly 4 months behind the Japanese lines, and was wounded in five places. He fought over 80 days without taking his clothes or shoes off, except to change and bathe his burning, starving body in a jungle stream. In the past 5 years you have seen accounts in the press smearing me as everything from a lunatic to a Nazi. I have been run through all the wringers and over all the barrels. Every department of the Government has investigated me, whether it be the Internal Revenue Department, the Military Intelligence, the Naval Intelligence, or the FBI. I have been worked on by privately financed Gestapo organizations that have attempted to destroy my activities by smear and character assassination, but the fact remains that I have been invulnerable to their attacks. I have never even been called before a grand jury and have never been convicted of any crime against my fellow man or against my country. My following is increasing geometrically. There has developed in this country a large number of citizens who are learning to read between the lies my enemies tell.

My only son has just been mustered out. He is 22 years of age. He has a chest full of medals and citations. I am not concerned for myself. I am a battle-scarred veteran. I have learned how to deal with these devils who make it a crime from their viewpoint to be an old-fashioned, Bible-believing, Christ-loving American, and by the grace of God I shall remain just that. I have lived smeared and I will die smeared, and I volunteered for this fight with the same abandon as if I had volunteered for the mission field, and we will never be able to fight these Reds until we have more men who will submit themselves to the hazards of this fight, and the first hazard is smear.

I have listed here 10 principles which define nationalism and for which we propose to fight in the year 1946:

1. Preservation of America as a Christian Nation.
2. Expose and fight communism.
3. Safeguard American liberty against the menace of bureaucratic fascism.

4. Maintain a Government set up by the majority which abuses no minority and is abused by no minority.

5. Protect and earmark national resources for our citizenry first. And I believe that before we loan \$10,000,000,000 to anybody we ought to take care of the veterans of this war.

6. Maintain the George Washington foreign policy of friendship with all nations, trade with all nations, and tangling alliances with none.

7. Oppose a world government and a super state.

8. Prove that the workman, the farmer, the businessman, the veteran, the unemployed, the aged, and the infirm can enjoy more abundance under the true American system than any alien system now being proposed by foreign propagandists.

9. Stop immigration until all veterans have jobs.

10. Abolish the corrupt money system.

Gentlemen, that concludes my formal statement.

Mr. ADAMSON. I have nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The Chair expresses the appreciation of the committee for your testimony, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I want to say before I forget it, with your consent, last fall, in October, Clinton Anderson, then Congressman, now Secretary of Agriculture, was chairman of a committee called on to investigate the activities of numerous organizations. May I say that this committee called me before it and cross-examined me at length, and it is generally believed that this committee, if anything, was decidedly in disagreement with me politically. That report is a matter of record, and may I suggest to you that that printed report might have in it facts concerning my activities that would save your investigators additional time. I was cross-examined by some of my most bitter foes in that committee.

Mr. ADAMSON. We will check that up.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned subject to call.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

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